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SUBSERIES

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

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WILLEM M. JONGMAN · IAN MORRIS

VOLUME CCXXXIII

WILLEM JONGMAN AND MARC KLEIJWEGT (EDS.)

AFTER THE PAST

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS · 1683 ·

AFTER THE PAST

ESSAYS IN ANCIENT HISTORY IN HONOUR OF H.W. PLEKET

EDITED BY

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AND

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BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
2002

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 90 04 12816 6

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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PREFACE

When Harry Pleket retired, his pupils felt he deserved a collection of essays written especially for him. After all, he had not only been a fine and distinguished scholar, but also a dedicated and accomplished teacher. We were made to share his early-morning enthusiasm for a recently published inscription, or his lunch-time arguments about the value of comparative ancient history. Whatever the topic, his thinking was extraordinarily rich and stimulating. He was a hands-on and efficient PhD supervisor who liked to guide where it mattered most: choice of subject and quality of argument. When he disagreed, he would put up a spirited fight. However, he always tried to win with arguments rather than by imposing his formal authority.

Most of us were supervised by him for a Leiden doctorate. In some cases his formal position was different, for example because the doctorate was obtained at another institution. We all feel, however, that he has been a major influence on our work. Inevitably, not all his doctoral students were able to contribute. As editors we have tried to be patient and to include as many as possible.

We wish to acknowledge our gratitude to the Faculty of Arts and Letters of Leiden University for financial support to correct the English of some of the contributions. We also wish to thank Rosamund Annetts for doing this so admirably. In the final stages Luuk de Ligt was of great help with the copy-editing. Mrs. Marga van Bon, secretary in the Department of Roman Law at the University of Utrecht, did an invaluable job in producing the page lay-out. With their generous assistance the final hurdles could be taken. We would also like to thank Michiel Klein Swormink of Brill Academic Publishers for publishing the book so efficiently.

Over the years Harry Pleket has been generous to us with his time and knowledge, and we are grateful for his intellectual inspiration and support. We also wish to thank him and Toos privately. This volume is not only a tribute to a great scholar, but also to a loyal friend, and a generous human being, and not necessarily in that particular order.

Together, Harry and Toos have always shown their concern and support towards us as individuals, towards our partners, relatives and friends, and, now also, to our children. Thank you Harry and Toos. We hope you will like these essays, and we hope that there will be many more happy years to enjoy them, and life.

H.W. PLEKET, EPIGRAPHIST AND COMPARATIVE HISTORIAN

Willem Jongman and Marc Kleijwegt

For his inaugural lecture of 1967 Harry W. Pleket chose to discuss the relationship between ancient history and epigraphy.[1] It was an appropriate theme for a scholar who by that time had already shown his expertise in both fields. The lecture developed two main arguments which have remained key issues in Pleket's thinking. Firstly, Pleket argued that epigraphy should play a more central role in historical research. The ancient historian and the epigraphist should be one and the same person. Following in the footsteps of the French school of epigraphy headed by Louis Robert, he argued, and we paraphrase: "The walls are being torn down: the ancient historian should be able to use documents and coins independently. In this particular view there is no room for fruitless discussions about which area of expertise has the stronger claim.....The historian becomes an epigraphist as soon as he begins to analyze an inscription."[2] Secondly, Pleket wanted to widen the range of what was the subject of ancient history. Epigraphy had traditionally been used, if at all, for the study of the political history of the Greco-Roman world. Pleket made it clear, although not in so many words, that this was not the kind of epigraphy that he would be much concerned with. Instead, he drew attention to the vast and largely untapped reservoir of inscriptions about the social and religious behaviour of the common Greco-Roman man and woman. The value of epigraphy for social, religious and economic history has remained at the core of his historical research ever since. That research has ranged from the sociology of ancient sport and the business interests of the elite in the Greek East to the self-presentation of artisans and the ways in which individuals

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[1] Pleket (1967). A bibliograhy of most of Pleket's work may be found in Strubbe, Tybout and Versnel (1996).

[2] Pleket (1967) 12, 10.

represented their relationship with the gods. Epigraphy provides the only direct window on the behaviour, thoughts and cultural expressions of the average Greek or Roman. It offers views of ancient society which are not dictated by the educated upper classes. Instead, it presents the voice of the small-town gentleman, the farmer, the soldier, the freedman and the worshipper. Epigraphy can inform us about ways of seeing, doing, and conceptualizing which are either not covered by the literary sources at all, or are presented from a different perspective. The choice to take this material seriously involves a confrontation with a number of firmly entrenched positions: it sometimes implies a preference for social rather than political history, a preference for epigraphical rather than literary evidence, and more often than not a willingness to move away from the established centres of ancient culture. In this view, an inscription from Saittai or Pisidian Antioch may give just as much information as any other type of source, provided that it is put in its own proper context. This does not challenge the validity of political history, or history written on the basis of literary sources per se. However, it specifically raises the issue whose ancient history we are studying.

Almost from the beginning of his career, therefore, Harry Pleket was not only an epigraphist, but also a social and economic historian. Moreover, his social and economic history was not of the antiquarian kind—even if it was rich in empirical detail. For him, as he would often put it, some questions are more important than others. The first tentative evidence of this is in the choice of texts for his collection (for classroom use) of inscriptions on the economic history of the Greek world, published in 1964.[3] With these texts, Pleket gives a broad outline of many important aspects of the Greek economy, characteristically including texts from archaic times until the late Roman Empire. The subjects covered include economic and monetary legislation, public finance, and land lease contracts. Compared to his later work, this is still close to traditional constitutional history, and it is also still mostly history from above, of the state and its rules, rather than from below, about ordinary people, their behaviour, and their hopes. It was a useful collection for an age without photocopiers, but increasing numbers of students.

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[3] Pleket (1964).

In his inaugural lecture Pleket had referred to the prominent role of elite women and children in the local communities of the Greek East in the Hellenistic-Roman period, to illustrate his central point that the social history of the ancient world cannot be written without using inscriptions.[4] In inscriptions these women and children featured as magistrates, benefactors, and as objects of public honour and commemoration—for no other apparent reason than that they belonged to families with a string of ancestral benefactors and magistrates. In 1969 he published another epigraphic collection for classroom use, this time about women and children.[5] With the benefit of hindsight it can now be argued that the selection which Pleket made for the second volume was far more revolutionary than that of the first, because a social history of women and children had not yet been written. The first of such studies, Sarah Pomeroy's *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves* was published in 1975, and it used Pleket's collection for epigraphic material.[6]

During this same period Pleket developed an interest in the history of technology. Of all things that differentiate our world from that of the pre-industrial past, our technological prowess is perhaps most obvious (besides our longevity). If we could travel back in time by one century, we could probably still recognize much of what we would see. If we travelled back two centuries, we would be at a loss. There would not only be no cars or bicycles, but also no trains, and no motor vessels. Most roads would actually be in a worse condition than under the Roman Empire. Agriculture still suffered from a lack of fertilizer, and from a lack of mechanical power. Even draught animals sometimes were a luxury, competing with humans for scarce food

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4 See now Van Bremen (1996).

5 Pleket (1969).

6 Pomeroy (1975). Pleket (1964) and Pleket (1969) were partly conceived from exasperation with the deplorable organisation of the epigraphic material—cf. Pleket (1967) 19. The lack of indices in the standard corpora which could be used productively by the social and economic historian turned the field of epigraphy into virtually unknown territory. If this had remained the procedure for the publication of newly discovered and reedited inscriptions, it would have unnecessarily hampered progress in ancient history. For this reason, the later decision to compile an index of English terms for the new style *SEG* is undoubtedly the most important innovation that Pleket and Stroud have brought to the organisation of epigraphy.

(and land to grow the food). Labour productivity was low, so agriculture needed the toil and sweat of a large proportion of the labour force. To improve people's lives, investment and technical innovation could have meant a lot.

For the economic historian ancient failure to develop or apply improved technology is what mattered. Traditionally, ancient failures have not been popular with classicists steeped in admiration for classical culture. The history of ancient science and technology has often been apologetic. Antiquity was an admirable world, and it was the job of the modern historian to show ancient achievement, both practical and intellectual (and, sometimes, even moral). Pleket felt no admiration, and it made him the better historian.[7]

Pleket's articles were a remarkable tour de force. Admittedly, they began with a—by current standards—quite conventional exposition of ancient—inevitably often literary and philosophical—views of the value of technical progress. Soon thereafter, however, we find ourselves in a penetrating discussion of actual technologies used, their location within the economy, possible manpower-shortages, and attitudes to economic innovation and investment in particular. He argues that if there was a manpower-shortage, it played no role in the decisions of the estate owners.[8] It was their 'mentality' which was decisive for the neglect of technical innovation: "To put it bluntly, the ancient economy was a prestige-economy, not an investment-economy."[9] It was a remarkable work at the time, written independently from M.I. Finley's better known article on technical innovation and economic progress.[10] It was part of a new wave of more sceptical and sophisticated arguments against the traditionally naive and apologetically modernizing anachronism of much scholarship at the time.

It did not shed all anachronism, however. The emphasis on manpower shortage and labour-saving has a curiously 1960's feeling. As we are now much more aware, the ancient world often suffered from an abundant labour supply instead (and thus from low labour

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[7] Pleket (1977).

[8] Pleket (1973) 29.

[9] Pleket (1973) 33.

[10] Finley (1965), published shortly after Pleket (1965), the original Dutch version of his argument.

productivity). Capital investment would not have made this labour redundant, but more productive.[11] Pleket's argument is also confusing in that it treats investment in capital goods and technical innovation as one and the same process.

Analytically, these are different animals. 'Investment' means that a producer uses (more) capital, together with the other factors of production—land and labour. For a Roman farmer, investment could consist of buildings, tools, seed for next year, or an ox. Does it make sense to devote scarce resources to build irrigation or drainage canals, or not? Does it make sense to sow more seed per hectare, or not?[12] Does it make sense to have an ox and plough, or is it more profitable to work a small plot with the hoe? As these examples show, more investment is not always better. Capital suffers from the same diminishing marginal returns as other factors of production. Prescribing our ancestors that they should have invested more may be as erroneous and patronizing as prescribing Third-World peasants that all they needed to do was buy fertilizers and machines.

Technical improvement is a different matter. Unlike capital investment, it implies that the same quantities of land, labour and capital now produce more than before. In the jargon of the economist, it is a shift of the production function itself, rather than a different location on it.[13] Such innovation can be mechanical (that was important during the Industrial Revolution), but it need not be. Modern research on economic growth, for example, emphasizes the great potential to improve the quality of labour.[14] Technical innovation, therefore, is always desirable. It allows us to achieve more with the same effort. Such innovation may be stimulated or hindered significantly by the dominant mentalities.[15]

The work on technology had been the opening salvo of a comprehensive revision of debates on the ancient economy. Its culmination was the publication in 1973 of M.I. Finley's Sather

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[11] Jongman (1988) 85-91 and 151, for a discussion.

[12] Interestingly, sowing more seed gives declining yield ratios, but a higher yield per hectare.

[13] Jongman (1988) 85-91, 151.

[14] For antiquity, Saller (2002) now argues along these lines.

[15] It remains to be seen if there really was much potential to go beyond Roman levels of technology without a jump like the Industrial Revolution. Pleket (1990), esp. 142-158, for penetrating analysis.

lectures.[16] Against prevailing apologetic optimism Finley argued that the ancient economy was fundamentally underdeveloped. Agriculture was the basis of the economy, and trade and manufacturing were relatively unimportant. They were unimportant because the elite chose not to be involved. Thus, elite mentality prevented the growth of a system of integrated markets, and economic innovation.

Pleket's realization that to understand the ancient economy we need to understand the values of social groups, and their relationships, probably confirmed his interest in social structure. His *Sociale stratificatie en sociale mobiliteit in de Romeinse Keizertijd* ('Social stratification and social mobility in the Roman Empire') is a systematic effort to understand the nature and composition of the Roman elite.[17] It is arguably the best thing he ever wrote, so it is all the more unfortunate it was never translated.

It is a wonderfully comprehensive piece. What makes a senator, a knight, or a town-councillor? What do they do? How do they represent themselves? Finally, and perhaps most importantly, how was this—mostly office-holding—elite renewed by social mobility from below, and by upwardly mobile descendants of freedmen in particular? The now inevitable demographic arguments are absent, but beyond that it is elegant and conceptually sophisticated.

Elite culture and mentality had begun to fascinate him, perhaps more than economic history (maybe he also felt Finley had now said it all). Both in his inaugural lecture and in his collection of texts on women and children Pleket had already shown an interest in social history. Pleket now began to elaborate these themes, and extend his interest into other areas of social and cultural history, and the new history of mentalities. Again, he was one of the first.

In 1976 he published (with M.I. Finley) his work on the ancient Olympic games.[18] It was a best-seller, and was translated in German, Italian, Dutch and Hungarian. It located ancient sport as one of the central rituals of urban society. It also showed his interest in themes that resonated in contemporary society (and it hardly disguised his

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16 Finley (1985). For a recent survey of the debate see Jongman (2000).
17 Pleket (1971).
18 Pleket (1976).

own passion for sport—not only as a spectator). He also published on education, literacy, the social status of physicians, youth, women, the ideology of labour, artisans, and slavery. Most of his work in these areas is characterized by two things. First, epigraphy provides the main body of the evidence, and second, more often than not the historical questions which Pleket sets out to address are discussed within a broad chronological framework, usually encompassing the whole of pre-industrial society. In his inaugural lecture Pleket already drew attention to Philippe Ariès's famous study of childhood and the family in early modern France, arguing that no such study existed for the ancient world. Instead, there were only tomes of '*quomodo poetae antiqui cogitaverint de pueris puellisque*'.[19] His work on social history showed his developing interest in comparative history. He had volunteered for part of the social history teaching in the Leiden history department. For years he and Herman Diederiks, an early-modern social historian, would jointly teach seminars on the comparative social history of, for example, primitive rebels, the military in politics, or education. It showed students that ancient history could be 'real' history. It also laid the groundwork for Pleket's incomparable erudition in comparative European history. Underlying this comparative approach is the theoretical premise that the ancient world resembled the world of pre-industrial Europe in the way in which wealth was generated and how that wealth was translated into political power. Once the limitations of the methodology have been accepted—the danger of simplifying complex social phenomena extending over a long period of history does exist—comparative ancient history becomes a tantalizing prospect, both to establish the social and economic continuum between the ancient world and later periods of history, and to position the ancient world within that continuum.

Perhaps the best illustration of this approach can be found in the article he wrote for a special issue of the Dutch periodical *Lampas* on education in the ancient world.[20] In his introduction to the issue Pleket distinguishes between two approaches to the subject, the internal (an examination of the subjects that where taught) and the external, a

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[19] Pleket (1967) 17.
[20] Pleket (1981a) and Pleket (1981b).

more socio-historical approach including, for example, the social background of pupils and teachers, and the activities of individual benefactors versus state initiatives. It is not hard to guess where Pleket's main interests lie. Overall, the discussion is firmly anchored to the general debate on the methodologies of writing the history of education, taking its cue from a seminal article by J. E. Talbott, who criticizes scholars for detailed discussions of educational theories without addressing the question of their practical impact or the social circumstances which gave rise to these theories. In the same introduction we encounter the names of Philippe Ariès, A. Wilson, J. R. Gillis and Lawrence Stone. Thus, the introduction sets the scene for Pleket's main contribution to the issue which is a multidimensional examination of various aspects of ancient primary, secondary and higher education. Notably, he aims to apply Ariès's ideas to ancient society. Just as Ariès had noted for later periods of history, Pleket notes the absence of age-segregated education in antiquity. There is sufficient evidence that some form of age-segregation did in fact exist—*paides*, ephebes and *neoi*—but Pleket argues that we should see these groups above all as broad categories without any notion that there was a psychological difference between, let's say, seven and twelve year-olds. An inscription from Teos (*SIG* 578) speaks of three different *erga*, but it is by no means clear what these *erga* are supposed to encompass. Whether one opts for classes based on age or levels on which subjects were taught, it is quite obvious that the whole group of seven to eighteen year-olds was subdivided into only three groups, and consequently it must be assumed that pupils of different ages were grouped together. And, as Pleket correctly points out, with the age for the *ephebeia* starting to drop below eighteen under Roman rule, we end up with a period in which the ages of *paides* and ephebes formally overlap.[21] If we assume that pupils went to primary school between the ages of seven and fourteen (as is accepted by most specialists in the field), and that the *ephebeia* commonly started at eighteen, it is highly significant that such an overlap occurred in the ages between fourteen and eighteen, a group to which no institutionalised type of education was offered. Pleket cautiously links this development to the increasing monopolisation of positions of power

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[21] Pleket (1981b) 165, 173-4.

by the city elite who prompted their sons to enter public life at an early age in order to continue the family tradition of holding magistracies and providing benefactions.[22]

When Pleket returned to economic history it was perhaps not surprising that his own contribution to the debate on the ancient economy became first and foremost that of the comparative historical perspective. Indeed, Finley's model of the ancient economy had implicitly been comparative. Finley had argued that what antiquity lacked were precisely the things that had modernized the later European economy: trade, integrated markets, and an economically rational commercial bourgeoisie. The more medieval and early-modern history Pleket read, the more he became convinced that the contrast was misleading.

His contribution to the volume *Trade in the ancient economy* marked the first stage of his quest for a comparative perspective on the ancient economy.[23] The alleged difference between antiquity and the later pre-industrial history of Europe is questioned from both sides. For antiquity, Pleket accepts that the vast majority of known traders were indeed of relatively modest status. At the same time, however, he argued that their low status does not necessarily imply that all trading was on a small scale. With scholars such as John D'Arms he argues that members of the land-owning elite may have been involved indirectly, using, for example, their freedmen as agents. Perhaps, however, his second attack on the Finley orthodoxy is more fundamental: he argued that many medieval and early-modern cities were not at all the hotbeds of trade and manufacturing, or of economic innovation by a commercial bourgeoisie. Early-modern traders too, and like Trimalchio, often preferred to invest their newly-won riches in land.[24] The difference that there was "... lies in the social structure of their respective societies, rather than in the dimensions of their

[22] Pleket (1981b) 165.
[23] Pleket (1983).
[24] Those who did not, sometimes fared no better than Trimalchio in his first ventures.: Goubert (1959). Veyne (1961) remains classic for Trimalchio.

trade."[25] Slavery (and manumission) allowed "landlords to control manufacture, commerce and banking, while despising it."[26]

Ten years after the publication of Finley's *The ancient economy*, Pleket had distanced himself from his friend and one-time co-author. Earlier they had agreed to write a joint contribution on the economy of the Roman Empire for the new *Handbuch der Europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*. Clearly, that was no longer a realistic ambition: they concluded amicably that Pleket would write it alone.[27]

Pleket's chapter for the *Handbuch* became a monograph in itself. In 135 densely printed pages it surveys almost all important aspects of the economy of the Roman empire, with a wealth of bibliographic detail. More than ever before, and in greater detail, he weaves an intricate cloth from an ancient warp and a weft of later European history. It was an invitation "jene Isolation zu durchbrechen, in der—zum Schaden der Geschichte sowohl der Antike als auch, wie ich meine, des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit—die herkömmlichen Perioden der Geschichte des vorindustriellen Europa behandelt zu werden pflegen."[28] Indeed, if modern economic historians begin their account of the modernization of the European economy with the growth of medieval cities (as many do), they neglect ancient levels of urbanization at their peril: in 1500 only four European cities had more than 100,000 inhabitants, and between them they had 450,000. In the Roman Empire, perhaps 3 million people lived in cities of that size—or even much larger.[29] The economic history of the Roman Empire is too important to be ignored in the models of modern economic historians. Ancient historians, however, have often done little to present their case.

To illustrate Pleket's success in this venture, we may isolate two arguments in particular. First, we shall discuss the implications of his comparison of the Roman economy with the economic history of the

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[25] Pleket (1983) 144.

[26] Pleket (1983) 144.

[27] A contributing factor was, of course, Finley's awareness of his declining health. Finley was in a hurry: "I don't have time" is what he sighed to W.M.J. in grim realism.

[28] Pleket (1990) 29.

[29] Pleket (1993); Jongman (forthcoming).

medieval and early-modern world. Second, we may review his discussion of pre-industrial growth and stagnation.

Pleket's most important contribution has been to demonstrate that there were, in the end, many similarities between the economies of antiquity and later pre-industrial Europe. Yield ratio's were of a similar order of magnitude, as was the relative importance of agriculture: most people depended on agriculture for their incomes, and the bulk of that income was spent on food. Transport and communication were slow and difficult. By and large, technologies were simple. If ancient cities were often small, so were most medieval and early-modern cities. Both in antiquity and in later pre-industrial Europe, most production was for local consumption. If there were some medieval and early-modern cities which deserved a reputation as centres of manufacturing for distant markets, so did a few ancient cities. Of course, there were some differences, but they were mostly social and political, rather than economic. Pleket's history is a history of an even longer longue durée, with antiquity included.

The grand equalization is partly built on a slightly more 'modernistic' model of the ancient economy. It is mostly achieved, however, by rigorous scepticism about the achievement of medieval and early-modern Europe. Here, Pleket parts company with those pre-industrial historians who had sought to find the roots of the modern world in the distant past of medieval towns and early-modern capitalism. He treats them to a healthy dose of essentially Finleyan scepticism. Thus, we are back to the slowness of economic change in pre-industrial economies, and of the dominance of the longue durée. Indeed, it may be argued that the key economic variables (agricultural technology, yields, per capita incomes, life expectancy) never changed much for very long periods until the Industrial Revolution. In that sense, the lives of Romans were similar to those of their medieval and early-modern descendants. Thus, in the very long run, pre-industrial history is largely structure rather than change. It was nature which called the tune.

This, of course, leaves two questions. The first, hardly ever really addressed by Pleket, is what made the Roman Empire still so special. The ancient city of Rome for example, with its one million inhabitants, really was of a different kind than the cities of later pre-industrial Europe, which only rarely measured more than a tenth of Rome's population. Rome was an enormous political unit, able to

command and concentrate resources on a scale that, in Europe, would not be surpassed until the modern era. The Roman Empire was more than the sum of many small cities, and many peasants toiling to survive. Roman aqueducts and roads exceeded the means of medieval and early-modern Europe. It would be wrong to call this achievement growth, but surely it was something.

The second question is how we interpret the pattern of long-term changes that there were. If there was no long term trend of growth, there may still have been shorter periods of growth or decline. What, therefore, were the obstacles to sustained growth? For ancient history, the problem is that the historiography of economic change fails to take any notice of the extended research on medieval and early-modern economic change, and ignores the mechanisms involved. Instead, we are treated to a multitude of particular 'explanations' of individual periods and situations, mostly focussed on various 'crises.' Economic crisis and decline are the staple food of conventional histories of economic change in classical antiquity. For Rome, we hear of the decline of the peasantry in the Late Republic, the decline of Italian agriculture in the first century AD, the ravages of the third century, the decline of cities, or, finally, the decline of the ancient world. Was Roman economic history really no more than a succession of unrelated crises (and was there really hardly any period in which the economy of this mighty empire flourished)? What these modern accounts of crisis lack completely is any economic theory of change, or, more modestly, an over-arching model for Roman economic history.

Many traditional crises in the economic history of Rome have come to be questioned in recent years, if only because the evidence for their existence often does not extend beyond the sighs of gloom in literary sources.[30] Writing economic history at what is the time-scale of political history does not work. Yet, not all historical periods are quite the same. There is more than the longue durée. The first century AD was different from the third, and the twelfth century was different

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[30] For late antiquity interesting examples may be found in vols XII and XIII of the new *Cambridge ancient history*, or in Lavern (2001). For the late Republic, see Jongman (forthcoming). For the first century AD, see John Patterson's forthcoming monograph.

from the fourteenth or fifteenth. In some periods, population expanded, whereas in others it contracted. Pleket noted that unlike medieval and early-modern historians, ancient historians have almost completely failed to discuss these long-term demographic changes. Medieval and early-modern historians have long acknowledged that periods of population growth alternated with periods of (sometimes dramatic) population decline. During periods of population growth, land became increasingly scarce (and therefore expensive to buy or lease), whereas labour became more abundant (and, therefore, cheaper). Social inequality increased. When population began to decline (often after an epidemic), the trends reversed: rents were lowered, marginal lands were once again abandoned, and labour became more expensive. Thus social inequality decreased—unless the rich succeeded to use non-economic means to suppress the peasantry against the economic trend.[31] For antiquity, the Antonine plague may well have been the moment when the trend went in reverse.[32]

The argument has two implications, one about growth, and one about stagnation. Growth turns out to be a dangerous concept, if used inexpertly. Periods of population growth and, therefore, growth of GNP went hand in hand with a lower standard of living for the mass of the population (i.e. per capita incomes). Clearly, it would be misleading to use the term economic growth for an increase in aggregate production and consumption if that also implied a lower standard of living for most. The increased wealth of the rich dissimulated the poverty of the others. Equally, it would be misleading to think of the increased standard of living of the survivors of a plague as a true sign of economic growth. Real economic growth presupposes that both aggregate income and production, *and* per capita incomes increased over a sustained period of time. Historically, that has only really happened in the more recent past. What happened before, is probably better described as expansion and contraction.

In the pre-industrial world, periods of expansion alternated with periods of contraction, even to the extent that some areas of the Roman Empire had a higher population density than in any later period until the modern age. Similarly, the population densities of

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[31] Brenner (1976).
[32] Duncan-Jones (1996) is fundamental.

twelfth century Europe were sometimes not matched until the nineteenth century. It would appear as if there really was a ceiling to what the pre-industrial economy could achieve. Pleket's insistence on the similarities between Rome and medieval and early-modern Europe serves to remind us of such ceilings. Sometime in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century that ceiling was removed. Conversely, therefore, this model of the economic history of pre-industrial Europe implies that the ultimate modernization of Europe constituted a fundamental discontinuity with the preceding past. Thus, the Industrial Revolution is once again industrial and revolutionary. The emergence of new technologies to use heat and power was crucial.[33] Technology, therefore, once again deserves a prominent place on the research agenda—and that is what he gives it in his concluding pages.

While he was writing these important historical syntheses, he had also become a major institutional contributor to the field of Greek epigraphy. From 1979, he and Ronald Stroud had published a revamped *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Produced like clockwork, with translations of the most important documents, and with useful indices, it made the tidal wave of new Greek inscriptions far more accessible to ancient historians. For Pleket, this work as an epigraphist and his work as a comparative historian were closely linked. Thirty years after he held his inaugural lecture Pleket began an article in the following way:[34]

> The epigraphist is an omnivore. Inscriptions provide data on such a variety of subjects that an epigraphist, at least if he wishes to embed his texts in the proper social context, must be reasonably at home with all these problems and aspects of ancient history which are affected by the data provided by his texts.

Elsewhere Pleket compares the epigraphist to a centipede, for this label "creates the impression that the epigraphist, if not a master of all scholarly weapons, is at least familiar with many of them."[35] The message that these quotes convey is obvious: in order to use epigraphy productively a combination of skills in epigraphy and ancient history

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[33] Wrigley (1988)
[34] Pleket (1998) 117.
[35] Pleket (1988) 25.

is required. In the even more productive years after his retirement Pleket appears to have come full circle, maintaining his views on the necessity of combining skills, and, above all, of asking the relevant historical questions. This time, however, the audience seems to have shifted. While the inaugural lecture had been addressed to classicists, ancient historians and academics from other disciplines, these sentences have appeared in a journal which is mainly read by epigraphists. It is worth noting that explicit calls to ancient historians to use epigraphy more productively have been absent from his articles in historical journals and books. Is there any significance in this? At the risk of over-interpreting a general point, we would say there is, and that thanks to the efforts of Pleket and others like him the activities of the epigraphist are no longer deemed esoteric. At the beginning of the twenty-first century epigraphy is now firmly entrenched as part of the regular curriculum of the ancient historian in a greater number of universities than was the case thirty years ago. With the rise of social history, exemplified in the many volumes that have appeared over the years on women's studies, the history of the family, or the history of slavery, the study of epigraphy has become an indispensable tool for the ancient historian. This is mainly (although not exclusively) due to the better organization of the field of epigraphy, and to the improved accessibility of epigraphical material, for which Pleket and the other editors of *SEG* have provided the main stimulus.

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RESTRAINING THE RICH, PROTECTING THE POOR: SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF ROMAN LEGISLATION

L. de Ligt

Although Marxism has rightly been discredited as a guide for practical social engineering, some of its theories remain of considerable heuristic value to historians. It has thus become a banality in historical research that, far from representing a neutral force contributing to the orderly functioning of society, the judicial apparatus of the state has generally operated in the interests of the social group that controls it, whether directly or indirectly. Despite the astonishing intellectual achievements of classical Roman law, the Roman empire was no exception to this rule.

The type of social bias with which citizens of western countries are perhaps most familiar results in recurrent complaints about the tendency of judges to favour litigants from the upper strata of society. This phenomenon, undoubtedly widespread during all periods of Roman history, is to some extent reflected by references to the *iudex qui litem suam facit* ("the biased judge") in the legal and literary sources.[1] The same message is conveyed by Gaius, in a passage concerning the transfer of lawsuits from one person to another. In such cases, Gaius tells us, the magistrate should see to it that the original defendant is not replaced by a more influential person (*potentior*), for "we are no match for someone who is more powerful than we are."[2] The reference to "more powerful" opponents has often been dismissed as a post-classical interpolation. Such views are, however, more revealing of the idealizing preconceptions of some legal historians than they are of the realities of the second century AD.[3]

More importantly, perhaps, the great majority of potential litigants from the lower strata of Roman society never got to the stage of

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[1] See Kelly (1966) 102-117; MacCormack (1982); De Martino (1988).
[2] *Dig.* 4.7.3 *pr.*. Cf. MacMullen (1988) 94-95.
[3] Wacke (1980).

presenting their case before any magistrate or judge. The evidence from Egypt, in particular, provides a glimpse of a rural world in which strategies such as self-help, negotiation and mediation were of far greater importance than were the legal institutions of the central state.[4] It may be argued that this is simply another feature of all complex human societies, including our own.[5] In the case of Roman Egypt, however, there is evidence that the relative unimportance of legal proceedings as a means of resolving conflict worked heavily in favour of the rich and powerful. One indication of this is that even when they did approach some legal official of the Roman state, non-elite litigants did not normally pursue the full redress available under Roman (or Greek or Egyptian) law. Instead, their aims seem to have been limited to the recovery of their goods, or even merely to preventing wrongdoers from *persisting* in certain types of offence, earlier offences going unpunished.[6]

Finally, it should be remembered that the class-biased nature of Roman 'justice' was not merely a question of a neutral body of legal principles being applied in a partial manner; it was also a matter of different standards and sanctions being applied to different status groups. We can see this with particular clarity in criminal law, where the rights of humble citizens were gradually undermined by the rise of a dual penal system.[7] For instance, whereas Roman citizens of the first century AD (such as the apostle Paul) could still hope to escape flogging by asserting their Roman citizenship, the same was no longer true for lower-class citizens from the late second century onwards. Not surprisingly, the general tendency was to punish privileged groups (the *honestiores*) more lightly, some particularly degrading penalties, such as condemnation to the mines or forced labour, being reserved exclusively for the lower classes. In private law, the same principle can be seen at work in the law of tort, where higher damages are awarded if a member of the upper classes has been wronged by a person of lower status.[8]

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[4] Hobson (1993).

[5] Cf. Macauley (1963).

[6] See Hobson (1993) 204-206; 209-210. Cf. Bagnall (1989) 210 and n. 37; id. (1993) 172: "Routine force used by the powerful against the weak was, likely as not, seen as acceptable behaviour."

[7] Garnsey (1970).

[8] De Ste Croix (1981) 457-458; 460.

Given all this, it is surely imperative that we pay special attention to the creation and practical significance of any legal rules which appear out of tune with the general theme just outlined. I am referring here to any legal rules created with the ostensible purpose of suppressing certain types of behaviour amongst the upper classes of Roman society. In what follows, I shall concentrate on two types of legal norm. The first comprises all pieces of legislation restricting the behaviour of the rich and powerful without any apparent benefit to the lower classes. It is exemplified by the sumptuary laws of the late Republic. In my view, such laws should be distinguished from another group of legal rules, which give the impression that they were created to keep upper-class people from harming the interests of their social inferiors.[9]

In the sections that follow special attention will be paid to the question of how effectively rules belonging to either of these categories were enforced, and also to the even more pressing problem of why such rules were created in the first place. In trying to shed some light on these matters, I shall to a considerable extent be guided by comparative evidence relating to similar types of legislation in better-documented societies.

1. *Dining aristocrats*

In a well-known passage, Pliny establishes a connection between the successful completion of the war against Antiochus III and the spread of *luxuria* to Rome. In his view, it was the triumph of L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, celebrated in 189 BC, which marked the beginning of moral decline in Italy: *Asia primum devicta luxuriam misit in Italiam.*[10] For Livy the turning point comes two years later, with Gn. Manlius Vulso's triumphal parade in 187 BC, but the connection is the same: "the beginnings of foreign luxury were introduced by the army from Asia."[11]

Despite the fact that the inception of extravagant consumption is given widely varying dates by other sources, it can hardly be a

[9] Most of the legal evidence which comes under this heading can be found in Pfaff (1897).

[10] Plin. *NH* 33.148.

[11] Livy 39.6.7.

coincidence that the late 180s BC saw the passing of the first of a long series of sumptuary laws, the *lex Orchia* of 182 BC.[12] An interesting feature which this law shares with many of its successors is that it was directed exclusively against the luxuries of the dinner table.[13] The remedy envisaged was to limit the number of non-family members that could be invited to the *cena*. It has been thought that this maximum number may have been as low as three.[14] The practical significance of the *lex Orchia* cannot, however, have been particularly great, or Cato would not have felt the urge to denounce the fact that its prescriptions were generally ignored.[15]

The widespread evasion of the *lex Orchia*, however, did not deter the senate and the assembly from issuing a new series of sumptuary rules some twenty years later. This time the focus was on lavish dining during the most important festivals of the Roman year. In 161 BC a *senatus decretum* prohibited the *principes* of the state to spend more than 120 *asses* on non-basic foodstuffs served at dinners on the occasion of the Megalensian games. In the same year, the assembly passed a *lex Fannia* which extended this measure with even lower maxima for dinners held during the *Ludi Romani*, the *Ludi Plebeii*, and the *Saturnalia*. In theory the *lex Fannia* applied to all citizens, but again the *principes* of the state must have been the most obvious target.[16]

The details of this new body of legal rules need not detain us here. What is more interesting is that this round of legislation, and especially the *senatus decretum*, was a clear case where the state's political leaders took a public stand against their own *luxuria* and ostensibly strove to restrain it. Why did they do this? The question is

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[12] Note that the *lex Oppia* of 215 BC does not belong to this series. The law may be labelled a sumptuary law because it prohibited women from adorning themselves with excessive amounts of jewellery, wearing certain types of clothing, and riding through the city in a certain type of carriage (for the correct interpretation of this law, see Sauerwein [1970] 43; Culham [1982] 787). This was, however, clearly a wartime measure, aimed less at excessive luxury itself than at emphasizing civic solidarity by suppressing individual extravagance.

[13] The explanation for this fact is not immediately apparent. Cf., however, Edwards (1993) 186, suggesting that to the Roman mind food may have "best symbolize[d] the ephemeral nature of prodigal pleasures."

[14] Slob (1986) 61; Baltrusch (1989) 78.

[15] Slob (1986) 61, referring to Macrob. *Sat.* 3.17.3.

[16] The measures of 161 BC are discussed extensively by Baltrusch (1989) 81-84.

the more urgent because the measures of 161 BC appear to have been just as ineffective as the *lex Orchia*. Centuries later, this led Athenaeus to comment that during the last decades of the second century BC the prescriptions of the *lex Fannia* were observed by no more than three exceptionally virtuous citizens.[17] To cut a long story short, the same seems to have been true of the *lex Didia* (143 BC), the *lex Aemilia* (115 BC?), the *lex Licinia* (late second century BC), and a whole series of subsequent sumptuary laws.[18] "The well-fed revellers just laugh at the lex Tappula" (a fictitious sumptuary law), we read in a fragment of the poet Lucilius (d. 102 BC).[19] Yet virtually all these laws were supported enthusiastically by the wealthy top layer of Roman society.[20] The evidence for elite support has led some scholars to hypothesize that the aim of the *leges sumptuariae* was to maintain political cohesion by imposing a relatively uniform lifestyle on the powerful and wealthy.[21] If none of these measures had any impact, however, what made the elite preach simplicity while practising extravagance?

Before we try to answer this question, let us see whether any useful insights can be gained from the comparative approach of which the honorand of this volume has been a prominent proponent for many years. Here, I shall concentrate on a limited number of areas in late medieval and early modern Europe which produced impressive amounts of sumptuary legislation.

I shall begin with medieval England, where the enactment of the *Statutum de Cibariis Edendis* of 1336 started a long series of sump-

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[17] Athenaeus *Deipn.* 6.274c.

[18] See Clemente (1981) 6-7; Baltrusch (1989).

[19] Lucilius *Sat.* fr. 1223 Krenkel; cf. Gruen (1992) 306.

[20] For upper-class support, see Clemente (1981) 8; Slob (1986) 65, 81, 91, 96, 176-178; Baltrusch (1989) 120-121.

[21] See e.g. Sauerwein (1970) 172-174; Slob (1986) 65, 98, 104, 181; Baltrusch (1989) 102, 128-129. According to Daube (1969) 124-127, the majority of the elite supported these measures because they did not want to be put to great expense by having to follow the example of more extravagant aristocrats. This idea finds some support in Liv. 34.4.12-13 (surely reflecting Livy's own interpretation), but not in any of the remaining evidence. For the rest, this explanation is closely akin to the theory that the sumptuary laws were aimed at preserving elite homogeneity. The same applies both to Gabba's suggestion that the principal aim of the *leges* was to prevent the dissipation of family fortunes and to Clemente's theory that the elite did not want large-scale dinners to be dispensed in order to build up larger private *clientelae*; see Gabba (1988) [orig. 1981] 39-41, and Clemente (1981) 8-9.

tuary laws. The principal aim of this act was to restrain the use of "outrageous and too many kinds of costly viands," a form of extravagance which was a drain on the pockets not only of the rich but also of lesser folk who tried to imitate them, as well as having deplorable effects on the bodies and souls of everyone concerned. The remedy was a general ban on eating or serving more than two courses, with the added injunction that each dish must consist of "two sorts of victuals at the utmost, be it of flesh or fish, with the common sort of pottages without sauce or any other sort of victuals." There is no evidence to show that the law was ever enforced, although it was not officially repealed until the reign of Queen Victoria.[22]

The statute of 1336 is atypical in that the vast majority of subsequent English sumptuary laws regulate clothing, not food. The earliest act of this kind, a statute of Edward III, was passed within a year of the *Statutum de Cibariis Edendis*. Its principal clause forbade all inhabitants of England, Ireland, Wales or Scotland to wear foreign cloth. Clearly, protectionism was a main motive. Since, however, the king, the queen, and their children were excepted, concerns over status distinctions also came into it. This is even more apparent in the fourth chapter of the same act, which stipulated that from the next feast of St. Michael onwards it would be forbidden for anyone in the realm to wear fur, except for the royal family, the nobility, and people of the Holy Church.[23] Such worries over status were to become the most conspicuous motive behind most subsequent English legislation on the subject.[24] The 'act of apparel' of 1363, for instance, was issued with the express aim of correcting "the outrageous and excessive apparel of divers people against their estate and rank." In accordance with this principle, the statute laid down maximum values for the clothes which various occupational and status groups were allowed to wear. Thus yeomen and craftsmen were forbidden to wear any clothes worth more than 40 shillings, whereas knights possessing an income of over 200 pounds could wear anything they liked, except ermine.[25]

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[22] Baldwin (1926) 27-28; Hunt (1996) 298-299.

[23] ibid. 31-32.

[24] Hunt (1996) 303-312. Cf. also Scattergood (1987) 260 and 270: "the blurring of social distinctions was the major worry for most writers."

[25] Baldwin (1926) 48-49.

However, if the purpose of this law is not in doubt, neither is the fact that it was entirely ineffective, leading a contempory observer to comment that "none of these regulations had any effect" (*haec omnia nullum effectum capiebant*). At any rate, the ordinance of 1363 was repealed after a year. Interestingly, however, the kings and parliaments of medieval England resembled the Roman senate and assembly in that they, too, continued to enact new sumptuary laws despite the failure of earlier ones. Parts of Edward III's statutes of apparel were thus re-enacted in 1388, while a new flurry of similar acts started in 1463. The general tendency of these laws was to lay down with ever greater precision the types of clothing that people of various social ranks were permitted to wear, restricting expensive materials such as gold, fur, velvet, and purple silk to the upper ranks of the English nobility. In the course of the next century no fewer than seven new acts of this kind were passed by Parliament, not counting supplementary ordinances, such as the 1566 ban on velvet caps.[26]

The rate at which these statutes were enacted suffices to confirm their negligible impact. Why then was it only in 1604 that it occurred to any English monarch to put an end to such regulations?[27] Another pressing question is why from the 14th to the 16th century so little was done to enforce any of these bans and prescriptions, despite the fact that everyone (including some monarchs) knew that they were widely disregarded.[28] Or was the mere existence of these laws perhaps more important than their enforcement?

The same questions can be asked with respect to the sumptuary laws of late medieval and early modern France, which closely resembled England's.[29] Points of similarity included the heavy emphasis on clothing (as distinct from food) as well as the use of social rank as the principal criterion underlying all royal regulations on the

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[26] For these statutes, see Baldwin (1926) 101-210; Scattergood (1987) 261-263. The years are 1477, 1483, 1510, 1514, 1533, 1554 and 1563.

[27] Baldwin (1926) 249; Scattergood (1987) 256; Hunt (1996) 321-322.

[28] Cf. Baldwin (1926) 226 (a proclamation which opens with the admission that "partly through their negligence and partly by the manifest contempt and disobedience of the parties offending, no reformation at all hath followed." See also Scattergood (1987) 261-263, and Hunt (1996) 343: "it looks as if there was indeed little enforcement that resulted in citizens appearing before courts."

[29] For a survey of much of the primary evidence, see Giraudias (1910) and Kraemer (1920).

subject of luxury. Both features are already present in a royal ordinance of 1294 which regulated the dress and furnishings of the king's subjects according to their wealth and social rank.[30]

The driving force behind these sumptuary controls may have been the French nobility's wish to preserve its status and privileges in the face of increasing competition from bourgeois upstarts.[31] Examination of the 18 (!) sumptuary laws issued by the French kings between 1485 and 1660 reveals that this remained the primary motive until the end of the sixteenth century.[32] After that, there is an interesting shift to *general* restrictions on the purchase and wearing of luxury items; that is, to 'class-blind' legislation applying equally to everybody. For the purposes of this section, the reasons for this change can be ignored. I shall limit myself to the observation that these French regulations were as ineffective as their English equivalents, supporting Voltaire's statement that "history has proved that all sumptuary laws have been everywhere, after a brief time, abolished, evaded or ignored."[33]

In view of the striking parallels between England and France, it is tempting to conclude that late medieval and early modern sumptuary legislation stemmed mainly from aristocratic concern to maintain social distinctions. The evidence from Italy, however, shows that it would be naive to assume that such laws had the same significance in every part of pre-modern Europe. Indeed, there is little doubt that, at least initially, most Italian restrictions on various forms of luxury were characterized by a distinctly *anti*-aristocratic bias. This element was clearly present, for instance, in the numerous limitations on numbers at funerals,[34] a 'republican' type of measure with which ancient historians are familiar (cf. Solon's legislation on the subject).[35] Another tactic was the imposition of a ceiling on the number of guests at wedding dinners. A fourteenth-century law from Siena, for example, fixed the maximum number at forty, while also stipulating that wedding meals were not to comprise more than three courses.[36] In

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[30] Hugh Owens (1983) 73.
[31] This explanation goes back to Kraemer (1920) 33-34.
[32] Fogel (1987).
[33] Baldwin (1926) 275 n. 75; Hugh Owens (1983) 69.
[34] Heers (1977) 75-77.
[35] Humphreys (1983) 85.
[36] Redon (1992) 114-118.

order to avoid giving a false impression of these early Italian sumptuary regulations, it should be stressed that restrictions on ostentatious clothing far outnumbered those relating to any other luxury. Initially these clothing regulations too had an anti-aristocratic bias.

If the contrast between Italy on the one hand and France and England on the other shows that the purpose and meaning of sumptuary laws can vary enormously, the same lesson can be learned from the subsequent history of such legislation in Italy itself. Although developments in various cities differed, it is largely correct to say that the original meaning of the legal battle against luxury was reversed in a two-stage process. During the first phase, luxury was increasingly associated with *women*, especially from the late fourteenth century onwards.[37] The reasons for this are not completely understood, but vigorous promotion of the idea by a more active Catholic church was certainly an important factor. Perhaps predictably, the only effect of successive legal restraints on female extravagance was to provoke a wave of new fashions. During the second phase, Italian sumptuary legislation gradually came to reflect the same hierarchical considerations as in England and France. Although this development can be traced back to the fifteenth century, it really belongs to the early modern period.[38] The background to this second phase was the increasingly oligarchical nature of political life in many parts of central and northern Italy.

What, then, do these medieval and early modern parallels tell us about the Roman *leges sumptuariae*? The most obvious answer is perhaps that legal bans on ostentatious expenditure may be initiated and supported by very different groups and for widely varying reasons. As we have just seen, the history of medieval Europe provides examples not only of nobles trying to defend their privileges against non-aristocratic upstarts, but also of Italian *popolani* putting a check on powerful *magnati*. At the same time, the comparative approach casts into relief the peculiar fact that in the Roman case we have evidence for a social and political elite supporting (or even initiating) the creation of legal checks on *its own* behaviour.

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[37] Hugh Owens (1983).
[38] ibid. 97-99.

There is, however, an even more important lesson to be learned: all of these medieval societies offer evidence that their legislators recognized their inevitable defeat in the face of what they themselves described as an ineradicable and ever-spreading evil.[39] Yet the standard reaction was merely to produce additional legislation. It is equally interesting that there is virtually no evidence of any attempt to enforce these laws. As one scholar has observed with respect to the regulations concerning women's clothing in medieval Italy, "the records of prosecution for contravention of the sumptuary laws clearly suggest that fellow citizens failed to accuse and the authorities themselves were reluctant to pursue women who disobeyed such rules of modesty."[40] In that respect, Republican Rome was certainly *not* exceptional. How then do we explain the repetitive issuing of these legal rules, when they were so seldom enforced?

In my view, we can only find a satisfactory solution if we abandon the idea that unenforced sumptuary laws were by definition pointless. Instead, the combined Roman and comparative evidence suggests that the *existence* of legal restrictions was important in itself. In other words, in creating these laws ancient and medieval legislators may have been more interested in broadcasting an ideological message than in bringing about any lasting change in the behaviour of their fellow-citizens or subjects.[41] According to this view, the sumptuary laws of medieval France and England should be interpreted as the projection of an ideal image of zero social mobility in a stable stratified society. Similarly, the Italian restrictions on female luxury

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[39] See e.g. Baldwin (1926) 226; Hughes Owens (1983) 69-70; Kovesi Killerby (1994) 100 and n. 2.

[40] Hugh Owens (1983) 84. A more nuanced view is advanced by Kovesi Killerby (1994) 113, who notes that prosecutions and court proceedings are recorded in seven Italian cities. Cf. now also Hunt (1996) 344-345.

[41] Kovesi Killerby (1994) argues that we should take the expressed aim of the late-medieval Italian sumptuary laws seriously, and that the laws *were* meant to be enforced. On the other hand, she admits that the sumptuary laws were a failure (pp. 118-119), and quotes evidence which shows that many of the legislators responsible for them *knew* that they were fighting a losing battle (see e.g. *ibid.* 100 n. 2). This suggests to me that the problem of whether the repetitive sumptuary laws were 'irrational' (ibid.) can only be solved in part by looking at the intentions of the legislators who issued them. We must also ask whether these laws may have had a certain meaning regardless of their intended purpose.

were essentially an ideological statement about the 'proper' place of women in Renaissance society.

Although the *leges sumptuariae* enacted during the last two centuries of the Roman Republic were unique in some respects, it is my contention that they were closely akin to their medieval counterparts at this deeper level. As we have already seen, according to Livy the long series of sumptuary laws which started with the *lex Orchia* of 182 BC was part of a vain battle against an inexorable process of moral decline triggered by the eastern wars of the early second century BC. For obvious reasons, modern historians do not find the moralizing overtones of his accounts quite so convincing. Despite this, there is an important element of truth in Livy's interpretation: the *lex Orchia* and its successors *were* part of a reaction to the spread of cultural elements which many contemporary Romans preferred to categorize as 'alien'. At this point, my conclusions converge with Erich Gruen's thesis that many odd things about Roman cultural developments during the last three centuries BC can be explained as reflecting a search for a 'national identity' that would give Rome a distinctive place within the cultural traditions of the wider Mediterranean world. As Gruen explains in a fascinating chapter, this process of cultural self-definition can be seen at work in Rome's embrace of Greek stories about its supposedly Trojan origins.[42]

It hardly needs pointing out that the creation of legal restrictions on 'foreign' luxury can profitably be interpreted as just another part of this struggle for a distinctly Roman identity. The greatest advantage of such an approach is perhaps that it directs our attention towards the message *itself*, and away from its possible effects (such as the promotion of uniformity in aristocratic lifestyles). If this is the proper way of looking at the *leges sumptuariae*, it becomes more or less futile to speculate about any 'genuine' changes which these laws may have sought to bring about, proceeding to the usual lament over their ineffectiveness in helping to achieve this reconstructed goal. Instead, these laws were an example of the cultural rhetoric by means of which the Roman upper classes sought to define a specifically Roman set of values.

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42 Gruen (1992), Chapter 1.

According to this interpretation, the primary aim of the sumptuary laws was to affirm simplicity and restraint as central Roman values, while defining *luxuria* as a 'foreign' intrusion.[43] The actual impact of these laws upon aristocratic dining practices was a matter of little interest. One is reminded of an acute observation made by Gruen with regard to the general expulsion of rhetors and philosophers from Rome in 161 BC: "the ban was surely unenforceable and *understood to be so* from the start."[44] The same applies to the *leges sumptuariae*, whose main function was to convey a message about Roman cultural values. Viewed in this light, the periodic enactment of more or less identical laws was anything but a pointless undertaking. It was simply a way of reminding Roman citizens of an important aspect of their developing identity. In this sense the message of austerity remained valid and 'true' despite its widespread evasion by many of those who warmly supported its frequent broadcasting.

2. *Hungry townspeople*

In this section we shall be looking at Roman laws and regulations relating to the protection of urban consumers against speculative practices. As will quickly become apparent, this topic takes us on into a different period. In fact, it is roughly correct to say that the following pages start where the last section breaks off. If we ignore an undateable edict issued by either Augustus or Tiberius, the last sumptuary law was the *lex Iulia sumptuaria* of 18 BC.[45] This is only some 25 years before the probable date of another *lex Iulia*, the 'Julian law on the food supply,' which is the starting point of my discussion in this section. We must, of course, bear in mind the possibility that the significance of any type of legislation may have been affected by

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[43] Cf. Edwards (1993) 2 (referring to the first century B.C.): "Conceptions of immorality were central to the way elite Romans ... thought about themselves, both as a people in relation to those who were not Romans and as individuals in relation to the state and to one another." *Pace* Bonamente (1980), it is right to see the sumptuary laws more as part of an attempt to *define* traditional Roman values than as merely directed towards the *maintenance* of such values. After all, as the embrace of the Trojan legend demonstrates, Roman 'traditions' were themselves subject to a continual process of redefinition.

[44] Gruen (1990) 173.

[45] Slob (1986) 145; Baltrusch (1989) 100-101.

the transition from a republican form of government to a regime which, despite its many constitutional ambiguities, was a monarchy from the start. Indeed, it will be argued in a later paragraph of this section that the monarchical nature of the Principate does have important implications for our interpretation of consumer-friendly legislation.

The laws discussed in this section are different from those discussed in the foregoing pages in that they relate to a much wider range of social groups. We shall no longer be looking at legal rules regulating the behaviour of the upper class of Roman society *per se*, but at legal restraints on the behaviour of this class towards less well-off (and less privileged) people. For the time being, the category of 'have-nots' with which we shall be dealing comprises those of the empire's urban population who depended on the market for a substantial proportion of their basic food needs. Anticipating the final part of this contribution, it may be noted that the social scope of the next section ('maltreated slaves') will be even wider.

The chronological *terminus a quo* of this section depends upon the exact date of the 'Julian law on the food supply' already referred to. Our most important source of information on this law is *Dig.* 48.12.2, a fragment from Ulpian's treatise *On the Duties of the Proconsul*. The text is worth quoting in full:

> In the *lex Iulia de annona* a penalty is laid down against anyone who has interfered with the food supply and has entered into a partnership in order to drive up the price of grain. 1. In the same law it is laid down that no one is to detain a ship or shipper or wilfully to bring about his detainment; 2. and a penalty of twenty gold pieces is laid down.

In theory, the law may have been enacted either during Julius Caesar's consulship in 59 BC or by the emperor Augustus.[46] Although complete certainty on this point may never be possible, most of our circumstantial evidence points to the latter date. It may, for a start, be suggested that the *lex Iulia* reflects Augustus' concern for the food supply of Rome, for which he undertook personal responsibility in 22 BC.[47] In fact, there are those who think that the law can be dated with even greater precision, by linking it with one of the food crises

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[46] Cf. Pavis d'Escurac (1976) 275, and especially Höbenreich (1997) 152-157.
[47] Pavis d'Escurac (1976) 11-19.

recorded during the early years of the Principate. The most likely candidate is surely the double food crisis of AD 6 and 7, which was so severe that the emperor not only dismissed the greater part of his retinue, but also banished certain 'unworthy' groups of consumers from the city.[48] As Peter Herz has recently argued, there may be a connection between the issuing of the *lex Iulia* and the consecration of two altars to Ceres Mater and Ops Augusta in AD 7.[49] It may also be no coincidence that the post of *praefectus annonae* was created soon after the events of AD 6 and 7.[50] In short, although the speculative nature of some of these arguments must be admitted, the case for a date between 22 BC and AD 14 appears strong.[51]

Regardless of its exact date, it seems inherently likely that this *lex Iulia de annona* was issued with the consumers of Rome uppermost in mind.[52] Indeed, even the fact that Ulpian found occasion to refer to it in a treatise on the duties of proconsuls may prove no more than that provincial governors were expected to do everything in their power to facilitate the shipping of grain to the capital.[53] There is, however, incontrovertible proof that the law became relevant to the food supply of cities other than Rome. Decisive evidence on this point is provided by the recently-published *lex Irnitana* from Spain, which contains the following rubric:

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[48] Garnsey (1988) 220-221.

[49] Herz (1988) 83-84.

[50] Pavis d'Escurac (1976) 29-30; Garnsey (1988) 222. Initially the sphere of competence of the *praefecti* may have been limited to the *detection* of speculative practices, although one cannot rule out the possibility that (some of?) the jurisdictional powers which they certainly possessed during the second half of the second century AD dated from the time at which the post was created; see Pavis d'Escurac (1976) 270-277.

[51] Cf. Garnsey (1988) 238: "probably of Augustus."

[52] Note *Dig.* 5.1.53 *pr.*, referring to the *crimen artioris annonae populi Romani* (cf. *Dig.* 16.2.17 *pr.*). Of course, the inclusion of a provision concerning the detention of ships or shippers also points to Rome.

[53] The fact that the relevant title of the *Digest* summarizes two second-century rescripts concerning the food supply of ordinary cities run by a council of *decuriones* tells us nothing about the original scope of this law, although it may suggest that the compilers regarded its provisions as being applicable to the food supply of all cities. Cf. also Pavis d'Escurac (1976) 275 n. 53: "La *lex Iulia de annona* ayant pour but l'approvisionnement de Rome, il semble qu'elle concerne seulement les navires frumentaires destinés à Rome."

> That nothing may be bought up or hoarded. No one in that municipium is to buy up or hoard anything or join with another or agree or enter into a partnership in order that something may be sold more dearly, or in order that something may not be sold at all or be sold more sparingly.[54]

The content of this local anti-speculation law was evidently modelled on the *lex Iulia de annona*, although one may take leave to doubt whether they were enforced to the same degree as was the original (see below).

A different set of anti-speculative regulations is referred to in *Dig.* 47.11.6 *pr.*, another fragment from Ulpian's treatise on provincial governors. The text reads as follows:

> The speculators (*dardanarii*) are in the habit of very seriously disrupting and compromising the food supply. The avarice of these people has been dealt with not only in ordinances, but also in imperial instructions (*mandata*). Thus the *mandata* contain the following prescription: 'You must further ensure that there are no speculators in any type of merchandise, lest the food supply be compromised either by those who buy goods and hold them back or by wealthy landowners refusing to sell their produce at reasonable prices because they are waiting for less bountiful harvests'. The penalties for such persons are varied; for, generally, if they are merchants, they are only prohibited from trading; in some cases, it is usual for them to be banished, or, if they belong to the lower classes, to be condemned to forced labour.[55]

A complete dossier of the legal texts relating to the criminal offence of speculation was gathered long ago by Hitzig.[56] All known references belong to the late second and early third centuries AD. For the purposes of this section, however, the most interesting aspect of these imperial *mandata* is that, unlike the *lex Iulia*, they were applicable to *all* urban food shortages from the start.[57] In theory, then, ordinary town-dwellers all over the empire enjoyed a considerable degree of protection against speculating landowners and merchants. What, though, did this protection signify in practical terms? Why indeed were such consumer-friendly regulations created in the first place?

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[54] González (1986), ch. 75.

[55] For a detailed discussion of this text, see Höbenreich (1992) and ead. (1997) 206-227. Cf. also Hamza (1981).

[56] Hitzig (1901). Cf. also Pfaff (1897) 57-58; Pavis d'Escurac (1976) 275-276.

[57] Cf. Hamza (1981) 93.

These are the questions with which we shall be concerned for the remainder of this section.

Since the *Corpus Iuris* does not tell us much about the realities of consumer protection under the Empire (especially outside Rome), we are forced to rely on other types of evidence. Fortunately, a great deal of relevant information is to be found in literary sources, inscriptions and papyri. As far as the epigraphical evidence is concerned, pride of place must be given to a famous first-century inscription from the Pisidian town of Antioch. From the first lines of this document it appears that during a food crisis in 92 or 93 AD the town government took the step of calling in Antistius Rusticus, the governor of Cappadocia. There can be no doubt that this request met with a positive response, for what is preserved on the stone is an edict by means of which Rusticus sought to remedy the situation. The edict orders the registration of all available stocks within thirty days; after that, all unregistered supplies will be confiscated. The governor goes on to lay down a maximum price for grain, on the grounds that "it is most unjust for the source of anyone's profit to be the hunger of his fellow citizens."[58]

In a recent book on Roman food-supply regulations, this episode has been interpreted as an early instance of the application of the *lex Iulia* outside Italy. That is almost certainly wrong.[59] What is more important, however, is that in dealing with this food crisis Antistius Rusticus acted not upon his own initiative, but because the local authorities had *invited* him to do so. It is surely unwarranted, therefore, to infer from this document that the central Roman administration was engaged in a continual and systematic fight against speculators.

This observation is of some importance when it comes to interpreting two Egyptian papyri of the late second and mid-third centuries AD. The first of these texts is an edict of AD 191 in which

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[58] *AÉ* 1925, no. 126. For an English translation, see Sherk (1988), no. 107. For the imposition of a price ceiling by Roman officials, cf. *Dig.* 48.12.3 *pr.*, which stipulates that the maximum price shall not be lower "than the corn supply requires" (*quam annona exigit*). Note that the complicated interpretation offered by Herz (1988) 148-149 (*decuriones* undercutting grain merchants in order to monopolize the urban grain market), is both unnecessary and wrong.

[59] Herz (1988) 107-108. Cf. above for the suggestion that the application of the *lex Iulia* was probably confined to the food supply of Rome.

the *praefectus Aegypti* requires the registration of all grain stocks in the town of Oxyrhynchus.[60] The document expressly states that the aim of this measure is to prevent the price of grain from being pushed up by grain hoarders. The similarities with Pisidian Antioch are very striking, especially in view of the fact that those contravening the edict are threatened with the same punishment (confiscation of all undeclared stocks). Roughly the same measures are announced in another document from Oxyrhynchus, written in AD 246. This time it is not the provincial governor but a high-ranking judicial official (*iuridicus*) who orders the registration of all private grain stocks in the city. Apart from this administrative point, the only important difference is that the time allowed is extremely short: only twenty-four hours. The punishment for contravention is more or less the same: confiscation of both the grain and any storage building in which it shall be found.[61]

As in the case of first-century Antioch, it is tempting to infer that central government interference in the interest of urban consumers was a fairly common phenomenon in Egypt. There are, however, several reasons why we should be extremely chary of assuming that governmental intervention was the 'typical' reaction to local food shortages. For one thing, we do not know what occasioned the governor's edict in AD 191. It is perfectly possible, for instance, that the prefect was responding to a request made by a group of local notables, just as Antistius Rusticus did a century earlier. As for the proclamation of AD 246, it should be noted that the *iuridicus* justifies his intervention by specifying two objectives: the food supply of Oxyrhynchus is to be maintained at an adequate level, and the 'public needs' (*dêmosiai chreiai*) are to be taken care of. Since the latter expression almost certainly refers to the needs of the Roman state, there are good grounds for believing that, at least in its attempts to resolve the food crisis of AD 246, the Roman government was looking after its own interests as much as those of lower-class urban consumers.[62] Another possibility is that the *iuridicus*'s intervention

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[60] *P. Oxy.* 3339.

[61] *P. Oxy.* 3048. Cf. Garnsey (1988) 258-259; Herz (1988) 188; Kloft (1988) 148.

[62] For this interpretation, see Parson's commentary in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. XLII* (London 1974) 124, followed by Herz (1988) 187.

was designed to prevent (or put an end to) large-scale social unrest among the urban population.[63] It may be no coincidence that the proclamation dates from 17 or 18 March, that is, from a time of year at which private grain stocks were at their lowest levels. For all these reasons, it is surely unwarranted to conclude that the existence of laws and *mandata* concerning the suppression and punishment of speculative practices led Roman officials to come down any more frequently or more heavily on grain-hoarding merchants and landowners.

In order to obtain a more realistic picture of the impact of centrally-issued regulations at a local level, we must also take into account evidence that speculators were sometimes brought to heel without the Roman administration ever becoming involved. A well-known example is the food riot in the Bithynian town of Prusa described by Dio Chrysostom, whose rhetorical skills stood him in good stead when an angry mob besieged his house with stones and torches.[64] It appears that this near-example of lynch law was provoked by anger over high grain prices, and by suspicions that Dio had been aggravating the crisis by stockpiling grain in his barns. Interestingly, it does not seem to have occurred to the crowd (or to the local authorities) that their plight could be remedied by appealing to the Roman authorities.

A closely similar case is reported by Philostratus, in a story set in the Athens of the first century AD. Here, too, the urban population reacted to a food shortage by threatening the life of a prominent fellow citizen. The only difference was that the intended victim was the local hoplite general, a magistrate whose duties included supervising the food supply.[65] This element reappears in Philostratus' account of another food crisis, supposed to have taken place during the reign of the emperor Tiberius. The story's hero is the miracle-worker Apollonius, who happens to arrive at the Pamphylian town of Aspendus during a severe food shortage. The wealthy landowners of the town are holding back their supplies with the intention of driving up the price of grain. The desperate mob threatens to burn the

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[63] Cf. Herz (1988) 110 (in a different context): "Somit dürfte der Statthalter in der Regel erst eingegriffen haben, wenn sich das Unbehagen der Masse handgreiflich artikulierte, um dann grösseren Schaden zu verhindern."

[64] Dio Chrys. *Or*. 46.

[65] Philostr. *Vita Sophistarum* 526.

responsible magistrate alive. Needless to say, Apollonius has no difficulty in resolving the crisis single-handedly. Having brought the rioters to their senses, he finds out the names of the grain hoarders, prevents their estates from being pillaged, and finally persuades them to release their stocks onto the market.[66]

When using authors such as Philostratus, one must of course always allow for the possibility that they may have adapted existing oral and written traditions to suit their own purposes. That possibility should not, however, blind us to the fact that these sources paint a strikingly consistent and credible picture of a 'typical' food riot. It seems clear that throughout the Principate many food shortages, particularly those which had been created artificially, must have been resolved by means of collective violence (or the threat of it) against magistrates and/or hoarders.[67] By the same token, much of our literary evidence suggests that the central Roman administration pursued no systematic policy of interference on behalf of hungry town-dwellers in the provinces.

Despite the obvious limitations imposed by the paucity of the surviving evidence, we are now in a position to make a rough assessment of the measure of protection actually afforded by the *lex Iulia de annona* and the anti-speculative *mandata* of the second and third centuries AD. In doing so, it is essential to distinguish between three types of city. The first category has only one member: Rome. Since the facts are well known, there is no need to demonstrate that the emperors went to great pains to ensure that the (citizen) population of their capital city should have adequate provisions. As we have seen, legal expressions of this imperial concern included the *lex Iulia de annona*, which seems to have been issued not only in response to a specific food crisis in Rome, but also with the long-term interests of that city's consumers uppermost in mind. The general background to its creation is given by Suetonius, who reports that Augustus had toyed with the idea of doing away for ever with distributions of grain, on the grounds that they led to agriculture being neglected in Italy.

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[66] Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 1.15. For an interesting discussion of this passage, see Flinterman (1995) 111-112.

[67] Cf. also Plutarch *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* 815d (the Thessalian Petraeus burnt alive by a rioting mob during the reign of Augustus).

The idea was never implemented for the simple reason that the political risks were too high.[68] *Mutatis mutandis* the same rationale lay behind the *lex Iulia de annona.* The kind of pressure that could be brought to bear upon reluctant or inefficient emperors is illustrated by the literary sources. A good example is the crisis of AD 32, when excessive grain prices "all but ended in rioting; and large demands were for several days made in the theatre with a freedom not usually employed towards the emperor."[69] Genuine riots are also recorded, for example in AD 51, when Claudius was attacked by an angry mob in the Forum Romanum, and under Antoninus Pius, who was pelted with stones *ob inopiae frumentariae suspicionem.*[70] A few decades later another riot led to the death of the imperial freedman Cleander, whom the mob suspected of having engineered an artificial shortage of grain; his head was fixed on a pole and carried triumphantly about the city.[71] If anti-speculative regulations had a greater impact in Rome than elsewhere, the explanation must lie in the unique leverage at the disposal of the capital's inhabitants.[72]

Although Rome was in many respects *sui generis*, it has been argued that a second group of cities also operated on the same underlying principle, with the extent of (actual) consumer protection varying according to the political and administrative importance of the city in question. According to Garnsey, the correctness of this hypothesis is borne out by Julian's intervention on behalf of the consumers of Syrian Antioch and by some items of epigraphic evidence, such as Hadrian's law concerning the export of olive oil from Athens, or the well-known proconsular edict forbidding a bakers' strike at Ephesus.[73] It should be remembered, however, that the interventions at Athens and Antioch can be largely attributed to the emperor's personal presence,[74] and that the Roman government was conspicuous by its absence during the Athenian food crisis reported by Philostratus. This suggests to me that even in prominent

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[68] Suet. *Aug.* 42.3.

[69] Tac. *Ann.* 6.13; cf. Garnsey (1988) 222.

[70] Suet. *Claud.* 18.2; Aur.Vict. *Epit. de Caes.* 15.9.

[71] Cass. Dio 72.13

[72] But see Garnsey (1988) 239, for the suggestion that even in Rome "a moderate degree of speculation was tolerated by emperors."

[73] Pleket (1964), nos. 15 and 19.

[74] Cf. Garnsey (1988) 247.

cities, governmental intervention may have been a rare occurrence, and that in this respect there may have been only a marginal difference between 'important' and ordinary cities.

That leaves the third (and largest) group of cities, exemplified by smaller communities such as Pisidian Antioch and Oxyrhynchus.[75] As we have seen, some of the evidence relating to such towns refers explicitly to governmental interference in the local food supply, whilst other sources suggest that such interference was uncommon. In my view, this ambiguity can be resolved by assuming that intervention at this level occurred either at the invitation of local town governments or when the interests of the Roman state were felt to be at stake. As we have seen, the governor of Cappadocia did not intervene until he had been *called in* by the local magistrates and councillors, while the Oxyrhynchite papyrus of AD 246 explicitly states that an important aim was to prevent "the public needs" from being interfered with. This is not to deny that some Roman governors may have interpreted their duty to keep their provinces "peaceful and quiet" (*Dig.* 1.18.13 *pr.*) as calling for intervention on a much wider scale. The basic fact remains, however, that it was usually left to local governments (and wealthy benefactors) to deal with food crises in smaller communities. As Garnsey puts it, "the typical governor was not a mobile problem-solver. There is no reason to believe that governors commonly intervened in food crises outside certain prominent cities ..."[76]

The foregoing discussion has some interesting implications for our views on the impact of anti-speculative regulations under the Empire. It is important here to distinguish between the uniformity of the rules and the non-uniformity of their application. That is to say, the existence of legal rules such as the *lex Iulia de annona* and the anti-speculative *mandata* of the second and third centuries should not lead us to conclude that urban consumers all over the Mediterranean world enjoyed an equal degree of governmental protection. The evidence from the eastern half of the empire, in particular, suggests that

[75] Governmental intervention is also recorded in *I. Ephesos* 3048, in which the Municipium Aelium Coela (Thracian Chersonese) honours the *procurator* of the province for having come to its rescue during a severe food crisis. *Pace* Garnsey (1988) 259, Coela does not seem to have been among the 'prominent cities' of the province (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V [1948] 44-47).

[76] Garnsey (1988) 259.

provincial governors were prepared to intervene when they were invited to do so, but that the local town authorities made the decisions. In practice this must have meant that, despite the existence of general *mandata* on the subject, the vast majority of the empire's urban consumers enjoyed no practical imperial protection. Under these circumstances, the only realistic option available to hungry town-dwellers was to resort to the kind of collective 'self-help' described by Philostratus and other authors. As so often in legal and social history, lynch law filled the gap left by the judicial and administrative apparatus of the state.

If this were all there was to it, there would be little reason to discuss the issue of consumer protection in the context of this article. One intriguing question remains to be answered, however. Why did Roman emperors go to the trouble of issuing general laws and *mandata* only to see them applied more or less at random outside their own capital city? Our attempts to disentangle this problem may once more benefit from the comparative method. I shall here focus on consumer protection in a single country (England) over a relatively short time span (the eighteenth century). In discussing the theory and realities of English consumer protection during this period, I shall rely mainly on E.P. Thompson's brilliant analysis of early-modern food riots in terms of the 'moral economy' which guided the behaviour of urban populations.[77]

Thompson begins with the fact that in taking collective action against speculating millers and bakers the food rioters of early modern England were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional rights and customs. An examination of the legal sources reveals that this assumption was correct to the extent that there was a long tradition of consumer protection against the oligopolistic practices of middlemen. The essence of this tradition (which Thompson calls the 'paternalist model') was that urban consumers had the 'right' to satisfy their basic needs by buying directly from the farmers. An important merit of Thompson's article is that he demonstrates that this medieval view of 'proper' marketing arrangements remained enshrined not only in custom, but in eighteenth-century statute law and common law. For example, the old legislation

[77] Thompson (1971).

against forestallers was not repealed until 1772, and a trickle of prosecutions continued well into the nineteenth century (forestalling remained an offence at common law until 1844).

The persistence of these legal rules should not, however, be confused with their application or impact. It is true that some eighteenth-century court books record the imposition of fines on forestallers and regraters, but prosecutions under the old laws are recorded only in years of scarcity. It is even more intriguing that there are virtually no records of fines imposed on the most likely culprits: the large traders and millers. Instead, prosecutions appear to have been directed almost exclusively against small hucksters. This leads Thompson to make the plausible suggestion that "they were designed for *symbolic effect*, as demonstrations to the poor that the authorities were acting vigilantly in their interests." In other words, "the paternalist model had an ideal existence, and also a fragmentary real existence. In years of good harvests and moderate prices, the authorities lapsed into forgetfulness. But if prices rose and the poor became turbulent, it was revived, at least for symbolic effect."[78]

This eighteenth-century parallel alerts us to an aspect of Roman consumer protection which might otherwise have escaped us. As we have seen, the existence in Roman times of general laws and *mandata* concerning speculative hoarding did not mean that the inhabitants of unimportant towns enjoyed the same measure of actual protection as those of Rome and a restricted number of other cities. The most important lesson to be learned from Thompson, however, is that the mere *existence* of anti-speculation laws may serve symbolic purposes which are to a large extent independent of the intensity with which they are applied (although, of course, the symbolic value of such laws is greatly reinforced if they are applied occasionally).

This leads me to suggest that the creation and intermittent enforcement of the Roman anti-speculation laws were in part designed to express an ideal image of the relationship between the emperor and his subjects. Veyne observes that imperial ideology often presents the ruler as a benevolent father who admonishes, protects and looks after

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[78] ibid. 88 (italics mine).

his 'children' (i.e. his subjects).[79] According to Veyne, this father-child model helps to explain the moralizing tone of many regulations from the field of public law: if the relationship between ruler and subject is equivalent to that between a father and his offspring, it is surely the former's duty to represent criminal behaviour not merely as legally punishable, but as morally reprehensible. Another image frequently found is that of the 'good monarch' whose presence on the throne underlies and ensures the prosperity of the empire's entire population. Many sources make an explicit connection between this image of universal prosperity and the myth of the *Saturnia regna*, which are said to have returned with the inception of the emperor's reign. According to Philo, for example, with Caligula's ascension to the throne "the life under Saturn pictured by the poets no longer appeared to be a fabled story, so great was the prosperity and well-being, the freedom from grief and fear, the joy which pervaded households and people ..."[80] The theme of universality is also borne out by descriptions of the ruling emperor as "the saviour of the human race" or as the "saviour and benefactor of the entire world."[81]

Interestingly, variations on this theme are often found in contexts which we would call 'economic'. For example, in an inscription from Magnesia the *gerousia*'s decision to donate a large amount of olive oil to the city is accompanied by the statement that "in the most happy times of the emperor Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus it is proper to increase anything that is useful to mankind."[82] Elsewhere, a governor grants the right to hold a market "bearing in mind the Fortune of our most godlike Emperors, who want the world which belongs to them to increase even further."[83] In North Africa, settlers are given permission to occupy uncultivated land "because of the tireless care with which he is continuously intent on what is advantageous to mankind."[84]

Although the surviving evidence for consumer protection in Roman law is never explicitly couched in such quasi-mythical terms, it

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[79] Veyne (1976) 548-552 = id. (1990) 299-301. Cf. also Dvornik (1966) 529, citing Sen. *Clem.* 1.14.1-3.

[80] Philo *Legatio ad Gaium* 13 (translation Colson); cf. Versnel (1988) 248.

[81] See e.g. Dvornik (1966) 508-509.

[82] *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander*, ed. O. Kern, no. 116, lines 6-8.

[83] *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XXXII, no. 1149, lines 32-34.

[84] Ørsted (1994) 119, citing *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* VIII 26416 (= *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*², no. 102) (Aïn-Wassel).

certainly fits in with the ideological imagery just outlined. If this interpretation is accepted, the purpose of the *lex Iulia de annona* and similar regulations was not merely to improve the food supply of a handful of important cities, but also to advertise the emperor's care for his subjects' well-being. The imperial *pater orbis*[85] is, so to speak, giving legal expression to his wish to feed his 'children,'[86] while at the same time dissociating himself from morally reprehensible activities such as hoarding and speculation. Needless to say, the existence of this ideological dimension does not mean that the legal regulations in question were never put into effect (although it may be significant that no one is known to have been prosecuted under the *lex Iulia de annona*).[87] Indeed, the evidence from eighteenth-century England suggests that sporadic intervention on the part of the Roman authorities would have served to strengthen the symbolism of benevolent imperial concern. As in the case of the Republican sumptuary laws, however, it should be emphasized that the ideological message inherent in the imperial anti-speculation laws was largely independent of their 'real' impact. A recent study of utopian images of the Roman emperor notes that a complete lack of progress in breeding a race of purple sheep never stopped Roman writers from heralding the inception of a new reign as the beginning of a new Golden Age.[88] Similarly, the image of the caring imperial father was valid even for those who did not enjoy any kind of *de facto* imperial protection against speculating landowners and merchants.

I would like to end this section by noting that the interpretation advanced here casts an interesting light on the inclusion of some anti-speculative regulations among the municipal laws of Irni (cf. above, note 54). If there is any truth in the argument of the foregoing pages, the existence of these municipal regulations need not mean that oligopolistic practices were punished more frequently in this town than in any other. Instead, the relevant provisions of the *lex Irnitana* may well have resembled their eighteenth-century English counter-

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[85] For this and similar titles, see e.g. Dvornik (1966) 495.

[86] In his contribution to this volume Wim Jongman argues that this ideology of parental care was also part of the rationale underlying the well-known alimentary scheme in Italy.

[87] Garnsey (1988) 238.

[88] Versnel (1988) 248.

parts in being partly designed "as demonstrations to the poor that the authorities were acting vigilantly in their interests" (cf. above). Just as the relationship between the emperor and his subjects was often conceived of in terms of fatherly care and affection, the imagery of fatherhood was used to describe the role of Hellenistic and Roman town elites vis-à-vis their fellow citizens.[89] In other words, as at the level of the imperial administration, the issuing and existence of these municipal antispeculation laws may have been more important than their application and impact.

3. *Maltreated slaves*

Of all the social groups in Roman Antiquity, slaves were the most unlikely beneficiaries of legal protection of any kind. It has, indeed, been said that "the essential fact about the slave ... was that the screw could be put on him in any way the master liked, because he was *without rights*."[90] Finley's book on Graeco-Roman slavery makes the same point by stressing the slave's property status and the totality of power over him as essential components of slavery.[91] This idea appears in the ancient sources, for instance in Dio of Prusa, who defines slavery as the right to use another man at one's pleasure, like a piece of property or a domestic animal.[92] 'The right to use another man' extended, of course, to matters of sexuality. As Seneca reminded his readers, "Unchastity is a crime in the freeborn, a necessity for a slave, a duty for the freedman."[93]

Given all this, and taking into account the Roman government's reluctance to interfere with property rights,[94] one would not expect the Romans to have created any legal rules affording slaves even the smallest degree of legal protection against their masters. The curious thing is, however, that a whole series of protective laws and regulations *was* issued during the first two centuries of the Principate. The earliest example is the *lex Petronia* (AD 19?), which made it

[89] See e.g. Van Bremen (1983) 235-236.
[90] De Ste Croix (1981) 141 (italics orig.)
[91] Finley (1980) 77. Cf. also Patterson (1982) 21-32.
[92] Dio *Or.* 15.24.
[93] Seneca the Elder *Controv.* 4 *praef.* 10. Cf. Veyne (1978) 56; Finley (1980) 96.
[94] De Ste Croix (1981) 286, quoting Cic. *Off.* 2.73.

illegal for masters to send their slaves "to fight the wild beasts" (*ad bestias depugnandas*) without first proving in court that the punishment was merited because the slave had provoked a just complaint (*iusta querella*).[95] A few decades later the emperor Claudius ruled that the killing of old or sick slaves was equivalent to murder, and that sick and worn-out slaves who had been abandoned by their masters were free, so that they could not be reclaimed if they recovered unexpectedly.[96]

A third topic which attracted a considerable amount of legal attention was the castration of slaves. Suetonius reports that Domitian banned the practice of castrating male inhabitants of the empire. According to *Dig.* 48.8.6, anyone who broke this ban was to have half of his or her estate confiscated.[97] A different penalty appears in a second-century rescript in which the emperor Hadrian states that "it is laid down, in order to end the practice of making eunuchs, that those who are found guilty of this crime are to be held liable to the penalty of the *lex Cornelia*, and their goods must deservedly be forfeit to my imperial treasury." Furthermore, "the doctor performing the operation shall suffer a capital penalty, as shall anyone who voluntarily offered himself for surgery."[98] Hadrian also forbade the locking up of refractory slaves in private prisons (*ergastula*), and banned the selling of slaves of either sex to pimps, though only where no sufficient reason was given for doing so (*causa non praestita*).[99]

Finally, a handful of legal and literary sources deals with the problem of slaves who had suffered excessive cruelties at the hands of their owners. As early as the reign of Augustus slaves are reported to have taken refuge at the statues of the emperor (a fact which led Philostratus to report, with typical exaggeration, that under Tiberius it was an offence to beat any slave who was holding a coin depicting the

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[95] *Dig.* 48.8.11.1-2. On the date, see Buckland (1908) 36 n. 7; Griffin (1976) 278-279; Watson (1987) 121.

[96] Suet. *Claud.* 25.2; Buckland (1908) 37; Patterson (1982) 192; Major (1994). Cf. also *Dig.* 48.8.4.1, which reports that Hadrian confirmed the governor of Baetica's action in exiling for five years a slave-owner who had caused the death of a slave "for sport" (*per lasciviam*).

[97] Suet. *Dom.* 7. The *Senatusconsultum* referred to in *Dig.* 48.8.6 seems to date from AD 83; see Watson (1987) 123.

[98] *Dig.* 48.8.4.2 (transl. Watson).

[99] SHA *Hadr.* 18. Cf. Härtel (1977) 346; Bradley (1984) 128 n. 83

emperor).[100] The speed with which this 'right of asylum' became officially recognized is striking. Claudius began by granting it to the slaves of Rome, whose complaints were to be investigated by the *praefectus urbi*.[101] The extension of the same right to the entire servile population of the empire seems to have been a later development. According to Gaius (*Inst.* 1,53),

> nowadays neither Roman citizens nor any other men who live under the rule of the Roman people may lawfully inflict immoderate (*supra modum*) or groundless cruelty on their slaves. A pronouncement of the Emperor Antoninus Pius of blessed memory makes a man who kills his own slave without good grounds no less liable than one who kills someone else's slave. Excessive severity on the part of owners is curbed by a pronouncement of the same Emperor.[102]

The rescript which regulated the second of these matters has been preserved in the *Digest*; it is worth quoting in full:

> The power of masters over their slaves certainly ought not to be infringed and there must be no derogation from any man's legal rights. But it is in the interest of masters that those who make just complaint be not denied relief against brutality or starvation or intolerable wrongdoing. Therefore, judicially examine those who have fled the household of Julius Sabinus to take refuge at the statue and if you find it proven that they have been treated more harshly than is fair or have been subjected to infamous wrongdoing, then issue an order for their sale subject to the condition that they shall not come back under the power of their present master. And if he should practice fraudulent evasion of my ruling on this point, let him understand that I shall bring more severe retribution on the deed.[103]

From the same fragment of the *Digest* we learn of Hadrian's earlier decision to banish an upper-class lady for five years as a punishment for maltreating some of her *ancillae* "for entirely futile reasons" (*ex levissimis causis*).

On the face of it, this array of protective laws and regulations is quite impressive. Understandably, therefore, a number of scholars have interpreted these legal developments both as indicative of the

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[100] *Dig.* 21.1.17.12 Ulp.; Tac. *Ann.* 3.36; Philostr. *VA* 1.15. Cf. Price (1984) 192-193, and Garnsey (1997) 95-96.

[101] *Dig.* 1.12.1.1; Vittinghoff (1990) 183.

[102] Gaius *Inst.* 1.53 (transl. Gordon and Robinson). Cf. Härtel (1977) 339.

[103] *Dig.* 1.6.2 *pr.* Cf. Härtel (1977) 339-340; Watson (1987) 120; Bradley (1994) 49.

emergence of a more humane attitude towards slaves and as an attempt to impose this new attitude on all the Roman empire's slave-owners. According to Alföldy, for instance, "immer mehr führende Römer folgten diesen Verhaltungsnormen, so etwa der jüngere Plinius, der seine Sklaven gut behandelte, ihnen sogar die testamentarische Verfügung über ihre eigene Habe erlaubte, und an ihrem Schicksal Anteil nahm."[104] But how real was the protection actually afforded by the ameliorative legislation of the Principate?

Instead of trying to answer this question directly on the basis of the (meagre) ancient evidence, I shall yet again take the roundabout comparative route. This time I shall look at the southern United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Needless to say, one of my reasons for focusing on this particular historical society is that it resembled (parts of) the Roman empire in being a 'slave society'.[105] Of course, that is merely a necessary, and not a sufficient, requirement for a useful comparison. There is, however, no doubt that the American Antebellum South is in many ways an ideal starting point for a comparative discussion of the issues with which we are concerned in this section. The main reason is that, especially after the American Revolution of 1776, there was an upsurge in the creation of ameliorative laws designed to afford slaves better protection against their masters. As will quickly appear, some of these laws are uncannily similar to the protective regulations of the Roman Principate. The obvious advantage of the nineteenth-century material is that it permits a fairly accurate assessment to be made of the effectiveness of slave protection. Furthermore, it is suggestive of the kinds of motive that may lead legislators to issue protective laws which cannot be expected to have much effect (often because of loopholes in the laws themselves). Indirectly, then, an examination of slave protection in the United States may contribute to our understanding of the same phenomenon in Roman times.

A good starting point for an examination of humanitarian tendencies in American slave law is the opposition between 'things' and 'persons'. To which category did slaves belong? A glance through the

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[104] Alföldy (1984) 119.

[105] See Finley (1980) 78-80, for the fact that, in Antiquity, genuine 'slave societies' existed only in Italy, Greece and a few other areas.

pages of any publication on American slavery is enough to show that in trying to make up their minds about this fundamental question, southern lawmakers came up with an assortment of mutually exclusive answers. Indeed, it is hard to avoid the impression that the highly ambiguous views of the Roman jurists on this point were a model of consistency compared to the pronouncements of the courts and judges of the Antebellum South. For instance, in 1828 the high court of Kentucky concluded that "However deeply it may be regretted, and whether it be politic or impolitic, a slave by our code is not treated as a person, but a thing, as he stood in the civil code of the Roman Empire."[106] This is in sharp contrast to a pronouncement of the following year, when the same court observed that "a slave has volition, and has feelings which cannot be entirely disregarded."[107] The latter view was shared by the courts of many other states, the classic quotation on the subject being an 1846 pronouncement of the court of Tennessee which stated that "a slave is not in the condition of a horse or an ox."[108] This conclusion was backed up with the argument that slaves were "made after the image of the Creator," and that the *conventional* rights to them acquired by their owners could not deprive them of their innate humanity.

Although the difficulties inherent in the view that slaves were both things and persons were never resolved in southern law, it is possible to identify a trend towards wider recognition of the slave's humanity. This is particularly true of the field of criminal law, which slowly, but unmistakably, began to erect legal barriers designed to restrict the near-absolute power of slave-owners over the lives and bodies of their slaves. It is interesting to note how closely this ameliorative legislation parallels some of the early-imperial evidence concerning the killing and maltreatment of slaves. During the eighteenth century the statutes of several states already contained provisions to ensure that masters provided their slaves with adequate food, shelter and clothing.[109] This type of legislation seems to have proliferated during the nineteenth century. The most common penalty for neglecting the

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[106] Genovese (1974) 30. For the influence of Roman law on the American law of slavery, see Watson (1989) 64-65, 129; Drew Harrington (1994).

[107] Genovese, *ibid.*

[108] Stampp (1956) 217; Degler (1971) 27.

[109] Higginbotham (1978) 123, 187, 190, 196, 263.

physical needs of slaves was a fine, but in several states the court was empowered to order that neglected slaves should be sold (cf. *Dig.* 1.6.2 *pr.*). There was also some legislation relating to the abandonment of insane, aged or infirm slaves. Unlike Roman law, American law did not give such slaves their freedom. Generally, the master concerned was liable to a fine; in some states he or she was merely required to reimburse all expenses incurred by anyone who had taken care of the abandoned slaves.[110]

Another focus of legislative concern was the killing of slaves. During most of the eighteenth century the slaves' right not to be killed was gradually eroded by new legislation which not only reduced the penalties for murdering a slave, but also brought in a long series of 'special circumstances' which could justify such a killing.[111] After the American Revolution this trend was reversed. One early illustration of this is a Virginian law of 1788 which made the malicious killer of a slave subject to the same penalty as the murderer of a freeman. Just over three decades later, similar laws had been adopted by all the southern states. The last state to fall into line was South Carolina, which waited until 1821 before it passed legislation under which a person who killed a slave "wilfully, maliciously, and deliberately" became liable to the death penalty. The same law provided that the killing of a slave in "a sudden heat or passion" was to be punished with a fine of up to five hundred dollars and imprisonment for up to six months.[112]

Finally, the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed an upsurge in the creation of legal curbs upon cruelty. In some respects this rising opposition to cruelty dates back to the eighteenth century, when most southern colonies followed in the footsteps of their Roman predecessors and banned the practice of castration (except as a punishment at law for attempted rape).[113] It nonetheless seems clear that the period between 1780 and 1850 saw a significant acceleration

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[110] Stampp (1956) 217.

[111] Higginbotham (1978) 252, 254, 263.

[112] Stampp (1956) 218-219; Genovese (1974) 37-38. The provision concerning the killing of a slave in "a sudden heat or passion" strongly recalls some eighteenth-century laws on the subject; see e.g. Higginbotham (1978) 254 (Georgia).

[113] Genovese (1974) 67. It should be noted, however, that the most common penalty for contravening this ban was merely a fine; see Higginbotham (1978) 255.

in the production of additional protective legislation. Despite much inter-state variation, the overall tendency was clearly to make the cruel treatment of slaves a public offence even where it did not result in the victim's death. In Alabama masters (and overseers) could face a penalty varying from 25 to 1000 dollars for maltreating their slaves. Similarly, the state of Georgia issued a law containing a chilling ban on "cutting, or wounding, or ... cruelly and unnecessarily biting or tearing with dogs." At the same time, Kentucky more or less replicated Antoninus Pius' rescript on the subject by ruling that maltreated slaves might be taken from from their owners and sold.[114]

Modern verdicts on the effectiveness of this American legislation are intriguing in the light of the numerous points of resemblance between it and the protective laws of the Principate. Commenting on the 'proper' feeding and clothing of slaves, Stampp remarks that despite a handful of celebrated exceptions "prosecutions were infrequent."[115] The same pessimism pervades the entire literature on American slave law. To some extent, the failure of the southern courts to afford genuine protection to maltreated slaves can be attributed to loopholes in the laws themselves. This can be seen clearly in the case of the law belatedly enacted by South Carolina. As we have already seen, a provision of this law laid down the death penalty for any who "wilfully and deliberately" killed a slave. However, immediately after stating that the accused may be condemned on the basis of the physical evidence on the dead slave's body the text adds that a master's oath of innocence must be respected. One can see why a contemporary jurist called the latter provision "the greatest temptation ever presented to perjury," and thought that "the legislature ought speedily to remove it."[116]

Quite apart from such escape clauses, the chances of a slave-owner being condemned for the wilful killing of his slave were reduced by important qualifications regarding whether the killing constituted an act of homicide. For example, under most southern laws the accidental death of a slave while receiving 'moderate correction' did not come

[114] Stampp (1956) 219; cf. Tushnet (1981) 68.

[115] Stampp (1956) 218.

[116] Genovese (1976) 40. Exactly the same loophole vitiated a much earlier law concerning cruelty issued by the legislature of South Carolina; see Higginbotham (1978) 196.

under this heading. At the same time, several southern states added further qualifications by applying different standards when examining whether the killing of a white or a black should go unpunished because it was 'provoked'. In a famous case, the North Carolina court laid down the principle that "many circumstances which would not constitute a legal provocation for a battery committed by one white man on another would justify it if committed on a slave, provided that the battery were not excessive."[117]

It may be thought that this constitutes a sufficient explanation of why only a handful of slave-owners were ever convicted of unlawfully killing or maltreating a slave. Yet the main problem with enforcing any ameliorative law had its origin at the level of procedure rather than at that of the substance or interpretation of the statutes in question. I am referring here to the well-known fact that only whites were allowed to testify against whites. For obvious reasons, this meant that the chances of a murderous or cruel master being convicted were slight.[118]

Even without taking a closer look at the Roman evidence, it is hard to believe that the impact of the Principate's protective laws upon the actual behaviour of slave-owners was any greater than that of the parallel statutes of the Antebellum South. Of course this does not relieve us of the duty of trying to find corroborative evidence in the ancient sources. One of the reasons why the American evidence is valuable is that it throws into relief the presence of various loopholes in the ameliorative laws of Roman times. For instance, the actual measure of protection afforded by the *lex Petronia* must have been reduced by the provision that a slave-owner was legally entitled to send his slaves *ad bestias* on the basis of a "just complaint." Similarly, Hadrian's ban on selling slaves to pimps was vitiated by the proviso that such sales were forbidden only "in the absence of a sufficient ground." Furthermore, it is worth emphasizing that Antoninus Pius' rescript concerning the cruel treatment of slaves refers to treating them "more harshly than is fair." Accordingly, the corresponding passage from Gaius refers to a ban on *immoderate* cruelties committed *without good reason.* As for the repetitive bans on castrating slaves,

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[117] Tushnet (1981) 107; Stampp (1956) 220.
[118] Stampp (1956) 222; Genovese (1976) 38; cf. Higginbotham (1978) 146, 196.

there is an impressive amount of evidence (especially from Late Antiquity) that they were widely ignored.[119] Finally, the Roman law of slavery resembled its American counterpart(s) in that the likelihood of a cruel master being condemned was reduced by procedural obstacles. Slaves could not be witnesses in criminal cases against their masters, except when the charge was high treason. Nor were they allowed to accuse their own masters, except of certain crimes which had in common that they directly harmed the interests of the Roman state.[120]

The presence of all kinds of loopholes in the ameliorative laws of the early Empire, especially when combined with the effect of procedural barriers, strongly suggests that the legislative efforts of the first two centuries AD brought about no significant improvement in the condition of slaves. The existence of this gap between theory and practice has been noted before.[121] By contrast, very little attention has been paid to the problem of why the Roman emperors bothered to create a set of protective regulations whose foreseeable impact must have been very slight. One possible answer to this question is that the creation of these laws reflected the *personal* views of certain emperors, some of whom may have been influenced by the precepts of (Stoic) philosophy.[122] There may well be some truth in this explanation, but since no fewer than five emperors[123] are known to have been involved in issuing ameliorative regulations, we should also look for a more structural explanation. This is the background to Bradley's recent suggestion that the protective laws were motivated less by any positive wish to protect slaves as human beings than by a perceived need to keep slave-owners from misusing their property in ways that might endanger their own interests.[124] That concerns of this kind *did* play a part in the issuing of at least some of the ameliorative laws is demonstrated by Antoninus Pius' explicit assertion that "it is *in the interest of masters* that those who make just complaint be not denied relief against brutality or starvation ..." (cf. above). Or, as the same

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[119] Hopkins (1978) 192.

[120] See e.g *Dig.* 1.12.1.8; and cf. Watson (1989) 30, who infers that "evidence of a master's cruelty would seldom be forthcoming."

[121] Finley (1980) 73; Bradley (1984) 126.

[122] See e.g. Manning (1989); *contra*: Griffin (1976) 460-461; Garnsey (1997) 96-97.

[123] The emperors are Tiberius, Claudius, Domitian, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

[124] De Ste Croix (1981) 383, 421; Bradley (1984) 129. See also Finley (1980) 121, and Watson (1987) 2, both referring to Plato *Nomoi* 777d.

emperor puts it in another rescript to a slave-owner, masters must treat their slaves mildly "lest some greater turbulance arise instead" (*ne quid tumultuosius contra accidat*).[125] The same sort of thinking has been identified as one of the driving forces behind the creation of ameliorative legislation in the Antebellum South. It is widely agreed, for instance, that the adoption of a more humane slave code in South Carolina in 1740 was to some extent motivated by the Stono (slave) rising of the previous year.[126] On the other hand, if this was the only (or principal) reason why such laws were issued one would expect the legislators to have created fewer loopholes in the laws themselves, or at least to have removed some of the procedural obstacles which frustrated their successful application. How, after all, could ameliorative legislation help to prevent future slave rebellions if the relevant regulations were unenforceable?

For this reason, I suggest that we should look for an explanation at the level of ideology. Elements of such an explanation are found in Genovese's book on American slavery, which contains the observation that the criminal and civil laws "set standards of behaviour and sanction norms that extend well beyond strictly legal matters." According to Genovese, this means that the task of any successful legal system is to "discipline the ruling class and [to] *guide and educate* the masses."[127] The obvious danger of this approach is that it over-emphasizes the 'top-down' element in the legal norm-setting process. (The other side of the coin is of course that the behavioural norms embodied in the law cannot depart too far from the system of values subscribed to by most members of the society concerned.) This criticism does not, however, detract from the value of Genovese's remarks on the *educational* aspect of the law, which may well be the key to the problem of why the legislators of the southern states went to the trouble of producing ameliorative laws that were unenforceable. According to Genovese, the positive value of these laws "lay not in the probability of scrupulous enforcement but in the standard of

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[125] *Collatio* 3.3.6. Cf. Griffin (1976) 273; Vittinghoff (1990) 185 and n. 46.

[126] See e.g. Genovese (1976) 54-56; Higginbotham (1978) 189; 194. A dissenting note is struck by Watson (1989) 82.

[127] Genovese (1976) 27 (my italics).

decency they laid down in a world inhabited, like most worlds, by men who strove to be considered decent."

Elaborating on this theory, Genovese arrives at the conclusion that the protective legislation of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries should be seen primarily as the legal expression of the slave-owners' widespread image of themselves as authoritarian 'fathers' presiding over an extended and subservient black family. In the writings of some pro-slavery authors, this vision culminated in the assertion that slavery was essentially a mutually beneficial institution, in which the slaves' labour and obedience were exchanged for the right to subsistence, protection and moral guidance. Viewed in this light, the ameliorative regulations had an ideological logic that was largely independent of the extent to which they were actually enforced. Indeed, the nineteenth-century evidence suggests that although the educational and moral effects of these laws should not be underestimated, their provisions were hardly ever forced upon unwilling slave-owners.[128]

It will be clear by now that the Roman material should, in my view, be approached from the same ideological angle. Before offering a more detailed version of this interpretation, however, I should emphasize that there were substantial differences between the (dominant) American and Roman attitudes to slavery. In particular, the idea that slavery is a *benign* institution because it offers subsistence and security to people who are 'naturally' dependent and inferior is rarely found in the surviving Roman literature. Instead, the prevailing view seems to have been that people became slaves by accident.[129] As is well known, this was also the view of the Roman jurists, some of whom explicitly say that slavery is "contrary to nature."[130] Despite the existence of such ideological divergencies, however, the built-in weaknesses of the Principate's ameliorative laws suggests that, just like the parallel laws of the Antebellum South, they were issued primarily for educational and moral effect. That is to say, the principal aim of these laws may well have been to lay down moral guidelines

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128 Genovese (1976) 48, followed by Davis (1984) 12.

129 Ste Croix (1981) 418-422; Finley (1980) 118 ff. The post-Aristotelian evidence for theories of 'natural' slavery is discussed by Garnsey (1997) 38-48.

130 De Ste Croix (1981) 422; Finley (1980) 99-100.

regarding the 'proper' way to treat one's slaves. As we have seen, part of the rationale of these guidelines must have been that they were perceived to be in the collective interest of the slave-owners. Significantly, however, the Roman legislators chose to *persuade* the slave-owners to do what was in their own interest, while very little was done to *enforce* ameliorative laws against the wishes of unwilling masters. In this sense, the Roman laws were as 'educational' as were the protective regulations of the Antebellum South.

A final aspect that merits consideration is that virtually all Roman regulations concerning the protection of slaves were issued by the emperors. Given the increasingly central role of the emperor in the creation of *any* new laws and regulations, that may seem an unsurprising observation. What is less obvious, however, is that various types of legislation may have taken on an additional layer of significance because they were issued by a single ruler. In a famous story, Seneca tells how the emperor Augustus intervened on behalf of a slave while having dinner with Vedius Pollio.[131] The slave having broken a crystal cup, his owner ordered that he should be fed to the huge man-eating lampreys which he kept in his fish pond. Slipping from his captors' hands, the boy threw himself at the emperor's feet, begging to be allowed to die in a different way. According to Seneca, "Caesar was moved by the novelty of the cruelty and ordered him to be released, all the crystal cups to be broken before his eyes, and the fish pond to be filled in."[132]

Why did Augustus do this? The most obvious answer is that the emperor's intervention was a purely individual act which can be attributed to his personal compassion for the victim. That may well have been so. It may, however, be suggested that Augustus was also making a moral point befitting his role as the leading citizen of the Roman state. It should be remembered that from the early days of the Principate onwards, Roman ideas about the emperorship were deeply influenced by Hellenistic conceptions of the ideal ruler. As is well known, an important theme in this type of political thinking is that the ideal monarch must practise a long list of virtues such as benevolence, gentleness, justness etc. Apart from the fact that such behaviour was

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131 Sen. *De Ira* 3.40.2-3.
132 Bradley (1984) 121, 126; Watson (1987) 119.

seen as commendable in itself, it was regarded as absolutely essential in a good ruler, whose duty it was to provide his subjects with a shining example to imitate. Not surprisingly, the same imagery is found in countless authors of the imperial period, who were quick to apply it to Augustus and his successors.[133]

In view of this ideological background, I would suggest that the story of Vedius Pollio's slave is mainly about the first Roman emperor teaching his subjects the moral lesson that cruelty is wrong. What is more important, however, is that the same approach can profitably be applied to the ameliorative laws of the first and second centuries AD. According to this interpretation, Antoninus Pius' rescript ordering that maltreated slaves should be sold to another master is merely a legal expression of the moral lesson implicit in Augustus' intervention. In other words, the issuing of imperial regulations to protect maltreated slaves was prompted not only by imperial concern for the 'objective' interests of the slave-owning class, but also and equally by a desire to broadcast the image of the mankind-loving emperor. Needless to say, although the ideological message of these laws may have been reinforced by sporadic attempts to apply them, the issue of enforcement appears to have been regarded by some emperors as of little importance, and by most of them as entirely irrelevant.

Conclusions

Why did the elite of Republican Rome support and initiate the creation of legislative checks on its own conspicuous consumption, and why did the emperors of the Principate issue laws and regulations which protected urban consumers and slaves against exploitation by their social superiors? Although this question has attracted surprisingly little attention, it seems possible to detect a growing consensus that the main purpose of such legal rules was to compel the social and political elite to do what was in their own interest. For example, the sumptuary laws of the last two centuries BC have been

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[133] For the Hellenistic background, see Dvornik (1966) 249-250, 260, 270, 272, and for the application of these ideas to the Roman emperors, *ibid.* 534, 540, 543, 548, 552 etc.

explained as an attempt to prevent Roman aristocrats from squandering their fortunes, or as a way of maintaining elite cohesion in the face of a sudden influx of eastern riches. Using a variant of the same approach, the anti-speculative laws and *mandata* of the first two centuries AD can be seen as attempts to prevent food riots.[134] Finally, there are some indications in the ancient sources that legislative checks on the maltreatment of slaves were created partly in order to prevent slave risings.

It is entirely possible that motives of this kind may have crossed the minds of some of those responsible for the issuing of these legal rules. There is, however, no way around the basic fact that none of the laws and regulations in question seems to have been rigidly enforced. In all three cases, the social and political status of the most likely offenders goes a long way towards explaining this lack of enthusiasm on the part of Roman administrators and judicial officials. Senators had little to gain from an effective clampdown on luxury. Similarly, the provincial governors of the first two centuries AD were reluctant to interfere with the interests of the municipal elites which constituted the backbone of the early Empire (although, as we have seen, the enforcement of the *lex Iulia* in the capital city was a different story). Moreover, the chances of the *praefectus urbi* or a provincial governor imposing any penalty on a cruel slave-owner must have been very small. We are therefore faced with the curious fact that the Roman administration was extremely lax in enforcing legally sanctioned standards of behaviour which were, at least from an 'objective' point of view, very much in the interests of the propertied classes collectively. Must this necessarily mean that the issuing of such laws was essentially a pointless undertaking?

Here we should note that legal sociologists have long since abandoned the idea that laws that are ineffective are therefore 'meaningless'. The origins of this fundamental insight can be traced back more than six decades, when T.W. Arnold coined the expression 'symbolic law' in his *The Symbols of Government*.[135] Since then a great deal has been written about the symbolic functions of laws and

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[134] In the same vein, Strubbe (1989) 117-118, argues that the existence of a grain fund (*sitonia*) in many Greek cities reflected worries over potential food riots.

[135] Arnold (1935). Cf. my discussion in De Ligt (1993).

legislation,[136] especially in the wake of publications by Aubert and Gusfield.[137] Elaborating on Arnold's ideas, the latter introduced the distinction between 'instrumental' and 'symbolic' laws which dominates the recent literature on the subject. In Gusfield's terminology, a law belongs to the instrumental category if the legislator is acting on the assumption that its contents are going to be enforced by the state, implying that the new law is seen as an instrument for bringing about real changes in the society concerned. This is in sharp contrast to the function of symbolic laws, which are issued with the primary aim of expressing the superiority of certain moral or social values, the enforcement of the newly-created legal norms being at best of secondary importance.[138] For instance, according to Gusfield the American prohibition on the sale of alcohol was issued mainly for symbolic reasons, since (despite the impression conveyed by later gangster movies) relatively little effort was put into enforcing the contents of the law.[139]

Although the correctness of this last assertion has been challenged,[140] the example is instructive in that it shows that laws may be issued in order to broadcast some moral or political message. At the same time, it underlines the point that a law is particularly likely to serve some symbolic purpose if the chances of enforcing it are remote. This may be the case for one of several reasons. To take an extreme example, criminal laws may be issued which specify no penalty. Where some penalty is specified, the penal clauses may be phrased in such a way that the chances of anyone ever being convicted are more or less zero.[141] Laws are also quite likely to have been issued for symbolic effect if they seek to remedy some state of affairs which most people would regard as inherently uncontrollable (one might

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[136] For the distinction between symbolic laws and symbolic legislation, see Kindermann (1988) 225.

[137] See Gusfield (1963) and (1967); Edelman (1964); Aubert (1966).

[138] For the relevance of Gusfield's ideas to Roman legal history, see De Ligt (1993). Cf. also Toner (1995) 80-81.

[139] In a much later article, Gusfield seems to have given a functionalist twist to the concept of 'symbolic law' by saying that laws may have both manifest and symbolic (i.e. latent?) *meanings* (Gusfield [1989] 40). This leads me to wonder whether Gusfield's followers have been correct in interpreting the concept of 'symbolic legislation' as referring exclusively to the *deliberate* passing of ineffective laws.

[140] See e.g. Friedman (1972).

[141] See the brilliant demonstration in Aubert (1966).

instance the American Prohibition Laws). Admittedly, many laws falling into this last group are open to the alternative interpretation that something was wrong with the legislator's sense of reality, in terms of which it would be more appropriate to speak of an ill-conceived attempt to create a law of the instrumental variety. In such cases it would be wrong to speak of a symbolic *act of legislation*, although, of course, the resulting *law* may still perform the symbolic function of presenting the prohibited practices as morally wrong. Finally, one must envisage the possibility that laws may display both instrumental and symbolic characteristics,[142] or that they may shift from one category to the other.[143] A good illustration of the latter phenomenon is provided by the English anti-speculation laws (section 2), which ceased to be applied in any systematic fashion, but nonetheless remained on the books for symbolic reasons.

As recent debates concerning the 'correct' classification of the Prohibition Laws have shown, the task of deciding whether a specific modern act of legislation should be interpreted as primarily symbolic can be very difficult. *A fortiori*, any attempt to attribute symbolic significance to the issuing of Roman laws must be to some extent speculative. That said, it seems a reasonable conclusion that our comparative explorations in this article have revealed the presence of a symbolic element in various laws and regulations issued during the late Republic and early Empire. The repeated sumptuary laws of the last two centuries BC may thus be seen as the legal expression of a much wider attempt to define a specifically Roman identity in a context of increased contact with the cultural systems of the eastern Mediterranean. We have further seen that legislation forbidding the cruel treatment of slaves can largely be explained as the legal expression of the emperor's 'natural' duty to set a moral example worthy to be followed by his subjects. Our examination has also taken in the early-imperial *lex Iulia de annona* and the later imperial 'instructions' concerning grain hoarders. Of these laws, the anti-speculative *mandata* of the late second and early third centuries AD should be read primarily as symbolic expressions of universal fatherly

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[142] According to Hegenbarth (1981) a symbolic element is present in *every* modern act of legislation. Cf. also n. 139.

[143] Kindermann (1988) 225.

care, and as a means by which the emperor dissociated himself from practices that were morally reprehensible.

I began this article with a paradox: the creation of legal curbs on the behaviour of the rich and powerful against the background of a legal system and judicial apparatus heavily biased in favour of that very elite. The essence of my argument is that this seeming contradiction can be resolved by focusing on the symbolic aspects of this sort of law. A latent (and probably, to some of those involved, manifest) function of the late Republican sumptuary regulations was to proclaim and legitimize the rule of those who initiated and supported them, and *mutatis mutandis* the same applies to the laws by means of which the emperors of later centuries affirmed their universal concern for the well-being of their subjects.[144] On the face of it, the creation of these legal rules was contrary to the interests of the social and political elite. In reality, however, the interests of this elite were scarcely infringed upon, since according to the unwritten rules of the game it was extremely uncommon for these regulations to be enforced upon senators, town councillors or slave-owners. Apart from anything else, the simple fact that, both during the Republic and under the Empire, the social and economic elite more or less coincided with the political and administrative elite that had to see to the carrying out of these laws was sufficient to ensure this outcome.[145]

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[144] De Ligt (1993) 74. Cf. Patterson (1982) 70: "in enhancing the authority of the emperor in the eyes of all, including even the meanest of slaves, the legitimacy of the system as a whole was reinforced."

[145] I would like to thank the editors of this volume for criticizing an earlier draft of this contribution and for calling my attention to some useful publications on Roman and American slavery.

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BENEFICIAL SYMBOLS. ALIMENTA AND THE INFANTILIZATION OF THE ROMAN CITIZEN[1]

Willem Jongman

The domestication of the warrior: from booty to beneficia

Of all the emperors' benefactions, their distributions of grain and money to citizens in Rome have drawn most attention from modern observers, who have praised the emperors, or blamed them for the creation of an idle mob, each historian according to his or her political preferences.[2] These grain distributions (*frumentationes*) were generous indeed: some 200,000 people each received 400 kg of wheat per year. Even on a diet of little but cereals, that was enough to satisfy at least two-thirds of the grain demand of the capital's perhaps 600,000 free citizens.[3] If their diet was in fact more varied, and also included

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[1] This article originated in an invitation from Richard Talbert to give a graduate class at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, during my tenure of an A.W. Mellon fellowship at the National Humanities Center. It was completed with financial support from NWO, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. It has benefitted from the comments of many friends and collegues, including Keith Hopkins, H.W. Pleket, H.S. Versnel and Greg Woolf.

[2] Van Berchem (1939) is the classic monograph. Other important contributions include Tengström (1974); Pavis D'Escurac (1976); Rickman (1980); Garnsey (1988); Sirks (1991); Giovannini (1991); Virlouvet (1995); I have expressed some of my views in Jongman and Dekker (1989), in Jongman (1997) and Jongman (2000).

[3] Hopkins (1978) 96-98 for estimates of the total population of the city of Rome (1 million) and 68-69 for the free population (600,000). For food requirements: Hopkins (1980) 118 n. 51; Clark and Haswell (1970) 57 ff. and 175. Average requirement is well below that of adult males in pre-industrial societies with high mortality regimes and, therefore, a large proportion of children in the population. Subsistence requirement has been estimated as 250 kg. wheat equivalent per head per year, of which 220 kg was consumed as food. If 90% of that was indeed consumed as wheat (i.e. 200 kg—about the bleakest possible assumption), 600,000 free Romans consumed 120,000 tons of wheat. The *frumentationes* provided 80,000 tons (200,000 rations of 400 kg each). Perhaps the diet in the *urbs* was not so exclusively bread-based: Jongman (2001 a), add King (1999) for meat consumption. Garnsey (1983) 118 assumes that wheat consumption per head was 150 kg, which gives a total of

meaningful quantities of, for example, oil and wine, or even vegetables, meat and cheese instead of just cereals, almost all their demand for grain could be met by the distributions of *frumentum publicum*. The *frumentationes*, therefore, represented exceptional generosity on the part of Roman emperors. The *congiaria* on special occasions in the life of the emperor added similar generosity in cash rather than in kind.[4] These were not just Christmas gratuities, but something like a year's income for an ordinary man. For many inhabitants of Rome *frumentationes* and *congiaria* provided vital subsistence support, and the most manifest benefit of imperialism and imperial rule.

The *frumentationes* had their origins in the vast wealth that had become available with the conquest of an empire. As soldiers, Roman citizens had been used to receiving their part of the booty of conquest.[5] In the late Republic, Roman citizen soldiers began to be replaced by professionals. Many citizens flocked to Rome: with the enormous growth of the city of Rome in the first and second century BC, a more secure and generous grain supply became even more necessary.[6] The creation and extension of the *frumentiones* assured citizens in Rome the new spoils of empire.[7]

90,000 tons consumed by the free population. If the free population consumed no wheat other than from the *frumentationes*, they would eat 135 kg per head per year (and more vegetables, pork, wine and oil instead). That is not an inconceivable figure. Therefore, wheat consumption was roughly between 135 and 200 kg. *per annum*, and the *frumentationes* covered at worst two-thirds and at best all wheat consumption of the free citizens. The main potential market for commercial grain was that of slaves. However, see Whittaker (1985) for the suggestion that many slave-owners fed urban slaves from their own rural properties.

4 75 *denarii* is a normal figure in the early empire: Van Berchem (1939) 162; Barbieri (1885-). At a wheat price of HS 3 per *modius*, 75 *denarii* (= 300 *sestertii*) could buy 100 *modii*, or about 675 kg, of wheat. Duncan-Jones (1982) 370 for measures. However, in the city of Rome, wheat was probably more expensive than that. Duncan-Jones (1982) 144-7 for the best discussion of a frustrating problem. At the very least, it probably bought enough wheat to cover a year's subsistence requirements of an adult. These imperial gifts had to be in money rather than in kind. Distributing that much in kind was a logistical nightmare for both emperor and recipients.

5 Hopkins (1978) 38 ff. for pattern and figures; Brunt (1971) 394, 412; Harris (1979) s.v. booty in index; Schatzman (1972).

6 Military setbacks had endangered the grain supply. Capua had been an important ally from the middle of the fourth century BC, and its later defection posed a serious threat, because the Campanian grain (*horreum populi Romani*) levelled out fluctuations in Rome's grain supply (*varietates annonae*): Livy 7.31.1; Rome

The purpose of this article is to argue that distributions such as the *frumentationes* and the *congiaria* did not remain a privilege of citizens in the city of Rome. Towards the end of the first century AD imperial subsistence support was extended to many cities of Italy. Emperors set up an elaborate system of financial donations to children, the so-called *alimenta.*[8] I will argue that their extent was much larger than previously imagined. The city of Rome was no longer the sole centre of the Empire; the rest of Italy had joined in the new privileges.[9] Thus, the *alimenta* also provide what may be the missing link between *frumentationes* and the late antique distributions in provincial cities.

Privileges were not only extended beyond the traditional core, but were also transformed to reflect a changed political reality. The centralization of power in imperial hands not only allowed for benefactions on a larger scale than ever before.[10] It also focused the

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revenged itself cruelly, and confiscated the Capuan territory. Syracuse, the other unfaithful ally and source of grain, befell a similar fate: Garnsey (1988) 189. A more secure and generous grain supply became an advantage of empire. For 201 BC we read in Livy that the curule aediles L. Valerius Flaccus and L. Quinctius Flaminius "... distributed to the people a vast quantity of grain which P. Scipio had sent from Africa, at 4 *asses* (i.e. per *modius*), earning the greatest credit and favour thereby." Livy 31. 4. 6; Garnsey (1988) 193 for discussion. At that time Rome also secured a steady supply of grain from Sicily, thus permitting the replacement of porridge by bread as staple food: Jongman and Dekker (1989) 119. Compared to other cereals, bread-wheat yields fewer calories per unit area, and is more vulnerable to climatic vicissitudes. Imperialism permitted Rome to off-load the disadvantages onto others. Bread was more than food: it was the taste of empire. Hopkins (1995/6) for the economic importance of the growth of Rome. Jongman (forthcoming a) for a different view.

[7] Brunt (1971) 376 ff. for the connection between imperialism and the expansion of distributions; Badian (1967) 34 for money from Cyrene used to end a famine: "... the People's right to profit by empire ..." Brunt (1971) 377 on the reorganization of taxes in Asia as a precondition. Garnsey (1988) 206 ff. for an account of the struggles in 81 - 73 BC. The Clodian law of 58 BC made the rations free: Brunt (1971) 379.

[8] Bibliography is extensive. However, Duncan-Jones (1982) 288-319, 333-342 supersedes almost all that went before. More recent contributions include: Eck (1979) 146-189; Patterson (1987); Woolf (1990); Bossu (1989); Wierschowski (1998); Carlsen (1999); Dal Cason (1997). The recent work by Criniti has been split inconveniently between Criniti (1990) and Criniti (1991). Dating the institution precisely is impossible. There is no doubt that the greatest activity occurred under Trajan (98-117); that is well documented. There is some evidence to suggest that the first initiatives were taken under the short reign of Nerva (96-98); some scholars even credit Domitian (81-96). Duncan-Jones (1982) 291-293 surveys the literature and the evidence.

[9] Bossu (1989) 382.

[10] Both Caesar and Augustus tried to exploit their undisputed positions and followed traditional conservative policy. They reduced the number of those qualifying

recipients' gratitude and loyalty on the new and undisputed centre of power and authority. The imperial monopoly on large benefactions in the city of Rome reflected and reinforced the inability of citizens to choose between politicians, and it reflected and reinforced the erosion of their political participation. The growth and extension of benefactions was paid for by the erosion of the political powers of citizenship. I shall argue that this is particularly evident in the choice of children as recipients of the *alimenta*. It uses the children as a metaphor for the new and more hierarchical relation between ruler and ruled. Trajan became the—caring—head of the Italian family. At one time citizens had been soldiers, and had paid for booty with their own blood. In the late Republic, many received *frumentum publicum* instead. By the end of the first century AD, citizens had become children, and the emperor was the *pater patriae*.

The alimenta

Pliny the Younger became consul in AD 100. On that occasion he delivered the speech of thanks to the emperor Trajan that was later published in extended form as the *Panegyricus*. In it, Pliny praises Trajan's achievements at length, praising the emperor for his unflinching sense of duty and for his aversion to praise.[11] Among Trajan's achievements, Pliny praises Trajan's extension of the *congiaria*, distributions of cash to citizens in Rome (*Panegyricus* 28. 4-7):

> Nearly five thousand free-born children, Conscript Fathers, were sought out and found, to be entered on the lists through the generosity of their prince, to safeguard the state in war and adorn it in peace, supported by

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for the *frumentationes* : Brunt (1971) 381-2 for discussion. Caesar's reductions were undone by Augustus, who, once in a more secure position, himself tried reductions too. Later emperors better appreciated that *beneficia* were complementary to the ordinary citizen's loss of political power. Bread and games came to be part of imperial rule. As to the scale of the new *beneficia*, only the wealthiest of benefactors could afford schemes such as *alimenta*, which might cost anything from HS 400,000 upwards: Duncan-Jones (1982) 136 n.3; Woolf (1990) 208 and 220.

[11] When a famine hits Egypt, Pliny sees this as an opportunity for Trajan to demonstrate his virtues (*Panegyricus* 31). He says Rome's imperialism was beneficial to that much exploited province: "it would have been the end of that most productive country had she been free." Of course, the advantages—and the wheat—mostly went the other way.

> their country while they learn to love her not only as their homeland but as a nurse. The army and citizen body will be completed by their numbers, and they will have children one day whom they will support themselves without any need of allowances (*alimenta*). Let the gods only grant you, Caesar, the long life which you deserve and preserve the spirit you owe to them, and the lists of children entered at your bidding will ever multiply! These grow increasingly day by day, not so much because parents care more for children, as because every citizen is cared for by his prince. Go on with subsidies and allowances if it is your wish; but the true reason for these births lies in yourself.

Trajan had generously extended the *congiaria* to include *alimenta* for children.[12] The precise details of Trajan's scheme for the children of Rome are unknown, but the emphasis on children and the use of the word *alimenta* return in private benefactions by members of the elite,[13] and in the imperial schemes that were set up in many Italian towns around the same time.[14]

The end of the first century A.D. and the beginning of the second century A.D. saw the establishment in Italian cities of both private and imperial *alimenta*, endowment schemes to provide financial support for children. In the private schemes, an elite benefactor donated an estate, or its income, to a city for the support of children. The

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[12] Perhaps it also entitled them to *frumentum publicum*, since the lists of those who were entitled were the same for both: Van Berchem (1939) 127-130. Abramenko (1990) 125-131 goes as far as virtually equating the *alimenta* in Rome with those elsewhere. Especially with regards to financing that is pushing the evidence perhaps a bit too far. The indirect financing found outside Rome was really unnecessary in Rome itself where the emperor was so close at hand.

[13] Andreau (1977); Duncan-Jones (1982) 136 n. 3, 171-3, 341; Mrozek (1969) 169: mostly second and third century AD, especially distributions of money; Wierschowski (1998) 764 ff.; Jones (1989) for eastern private *alimenta*. Private *alimenta* seem to follow rather than precede imperial *alimenta* (contra Wierschowski (1998) 767, without reference to the evidence). Of those listed in Duncan-Jones (1982) only those in Atina (*CIL* X 5056 = *ILS* 977 = nr. 650 in Duncan-Jones' list) are Neronian, and thus clearly older than the imperial *alimenta* (moreover the word used for these gifts of money is *frumentum*, rather than *alimenta*). Mrozek (1973) on cities with both imperial and private *alimenta* (Tarracina, Ostia and possibly Capua), where the private schemes would seem to postdate the imperial schemes (c.f. *CIL* XI 2650, where a *quaestor alimentorum* seems to do something privately as well). Stevenson (1992) and Pleket (1998) for benefactors from the ruling class as 'parents' of their cities.

[14] I follow the list in Duncan-Jones (1982) 340. Eck (1979) 148 n.14 and 183 ff. adds more, but with Woolf (1990) 199 I follow Duncan-Jones (1982) 385 and disregard them here as uncertain. If, indeed, Eck is right that only strengthens my case.

emperor's scheme worked similarly: the subsidies for the children were not paid directly, but came from the interest on loans by the emperor (from his personal patrimony) to local landowners.[15] This interest was to be paid by the landowners to the city for the purpose of the *alimenta*, and amounted to an annual 5 percent of the loan. The number of beneficiaries was fixed in advance, and for two cities we know the actual figures because large inscriptions have survived. In the two main schemes together at Veleia 300 children received *alimenta*, and at Ligures Baebiani perhaps 110 or 120. Not all children received the same amount. That is not unusual for Rome. Duncan-Jones writes about distributions of cash to the populace: "The figures as a whole consistently show financial discrimination in favour of the socially powerful."[16] Private benefactors who gave meals or cash to the citizens of Roman towns almost invariably discriminated against the poor. In the emperor's *alimenta*, 'legitimate' sons received a monthly cash payment of 16 *sestertii* and 'legitimate' daughters of 12 *sestertii*. *Spurii* and *spuriae* received 12 and 10 *sestertii* respectively (these may well not have been bastards in our sense, but born outside *iustum matrimonium*).[17] Most recipients were in fact boys.[18] Dis-

[15] To ensure long-term security of the scheme, these loans generally represented only about 8 percent of the value of the land pledged (thus providing better than twelve-fold security). Duncan-Jones (1982) 306-315; Champlin (1981) deftly uses the *alimenta* to analyze patterns of landholding. For private imperial funding: Van Berchem (1939) 125. Woolf (1990) 210. Pliny *Panegyricus*, 27: *quocirca nihil magis in tota tua liberalitate laudaverim, quam quod congiarium das de tuo, alimenta de tuo.*

[16] Duncan-Jones (1982) 141, more generally 138 ff.; for detailed evidence 184 ff.

[17] To call *spurii* and *spuriae* illegitimate may be misleading. They may well have been the offspring of marriages where one of the parents was not a Roman citizen, such as was the case with slaves or some immigrants. Of course, they may well have been bastards - recently: Woolf (1990) 207-8. However, notions of illegitimacy differ between societies. Not all bastards were classified as *illegitimi*: Rawson (1989), especially on page 18, and 17: "It is noteworthy that, by contrast with many other societies, the "bastard" plays no role in Roman literature." *Spurii* may be no more than children born outside *iustum matrimonium*, and not subject to *patria potestas*. For a *matrimonium* to be *iustum* the partners must have *conubium*, which only existed between Roman citizens (unless granted). Without it, a marriage would be a *matrimonium iniustum*, and the children *spurii*. One obvious impediment to a *matrimonium iustum* was the slave status of one of the parents. Tomlin (2000) for a new inscription about a private foundation in Spain. In lines 3-4 *spurii* are distinguished (and differentiated) from *pueri ingenui legitimi*. For further good discussion: Treggiari (1991) 43-51.

crimination in favour of males and of *legitimi* emphasized traditional Roman values of citizenship.

In short, the *alimenta* were a scheme to distribute cash benefits to children in Italian cities, and were paid from the proceeds of a capital fund provided by the emperor and placed with wealthy landowners.[19] This brief description cannot, of course, satisfy our curiosity or resolve our bewilderment. Few would be so naive as to equate imperial *alimenta* with child benefit schemes in modern welfare states.[20] Moreover, even old-fashioned charity postdates pagan antiquity.[21] What is the position of such benevolence in a world of vast social inequality, and where poverty was perhaps pitied, but not questioned. How can the world of the *alimenta* be the same world as the world where child exposure and slavery went unquestioned? To understand this, I shall divide my discussion into four parts.

First, I want to discuss what other scholars have thought about the scheme. Why did the emperor set up a fund to provide for children? Some have argued that the explanation is in the *capital* provided to landowners: it was to help them rather than the children. Others have thought that it was a social policy to support the poor, help them have more children, and thus facilitate military recruitment (precise emphasis differs). I shall argue instead that *alimenta* cannot be interpreted as practical policies to deal with particular economic or social problems. *Second*, I want to discuss the extent of the scheme. If it was a small scheme we have less to be surprised about and to explain than if it was a large scheme. I shall argue that it was generous, that many of a town's children received support, and that many towns had *alimenta*. Therefore, we have a lot to explain. *Third*, I

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[18] Duncan-Jones (1982) 301, explains the prominence of boys (there were 264 boys and 36 girls) with the suggestion that the number of direct beneficiaries was much smaller than that of all children in the town. Therefore, parents would apply with the child for which the allowance was highest. They only applied with a girl if they had no son. It paid to propose the child for whom the allowance was highest if normally only one child per family was included in the scheme. Instead, I shall argue that it is likely that all or almost all boys received *alimenta*.

[19] I cannot agree with Wierschowski (1998) 763 and 780 ff., who argues that the landowners were not particularly wealthy (even 'kleine Bauer'), and that small farmers in particular were 'objectively' helped by the *alimenta*. The values of the properties concerned clearly speak against this.

[20] Wierschowski (1998) seems to go a long way, however.

[21] Patlagean (1977).

shall argue that the *alimenta* were similar in important respects to the distributions of wheat and bread in Rome, and represent a modified extension of the *frumentationes*. *Fourth*, I want to discuss the differences between *frumentationes* and *alimenta*. In particular, I want to argue that the focus on children as recipients of imperial benevolence served no practical social policy, but reflected the new and more hierarchical relationship between emperors and subjects.

Economic or social policy?

The ancient sources do not provide a direct and unequivocal answer about the intent and purpose of the *alimenta*.[22] Common to many modern interpretations of the *alimenta* is that the emperors are viewed as modern economic and social policy makers. The *alimenta* are seen as a practical—although perhaps unsuccessful—policy to solve a particular problem. The investigative tactic of historians has been to look for these practical problems which the *alimenta* may have been intended to solve. The disagreement among historians is about which problem the *alimenta* were to have dealt with. The same action is, therefore, explained by competing reconstructed 'intentions'. However, intentions of historical actors are hard to reconstruct, and may have had unforeseen effects.

The traditional explanations for the *alimenta* may be divided into two groups, one concerning itself with the complex funding of the alimentary payments, and with Italian agriculture. The other group of interpretations is concerned with the beneficiaries of alimentary expenditure, and with demographic and social policy. How real, however, were the problems the *alimenta* are supposed to have addressed, and could *alimenta* have contributed to their solution? I shall argue that there was neither an agricultural nor a demographic crisis to cope with. Moreover, I shall argue that as a policy, *alimenta* would have been ineffective to deal with these problems.

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[22] Woolf (1990) 221, invokes the *Historia Augusta*, "notoriously frustrating, a mixture of invention, scandal, rumour and stereotypes", as "an excellent source of myth." The *alimenta* are represented as the hallmark of good emperors, and represent "the moral nature of imperial rule."

The method chosen to finance the *alimenta* was elaborate. For some historians that betrays the emperor's real intention: it was primarily a means of providing cheap credit to landowners, who were suffering badly from a crisis in Italian agriculture.[23] Clearly, we cannot reconstruct the emperor's intentions, but such an economic policy would be quite unprecedented for a Roman emperor.[24] However, let us evaluate the *alimenta* as an agricultural policy. The problem consists of two parts: first, was there a crisis in Italian agriculture, and second, could the *alimenta* have helped?

The traditional account of the agricultural history of Roman Italy is punctuated by two major transformations, each labelled as a 'crisis'. The first, in the second century BC, is the 'crisis' of independent peasant agriculture and its replacement by slave estates producing market crops such as wine and oil. The second 'agricultural crisis' entails the demise of this villa agriculture and its slave mode of production, from the late first or early second century AD.[25] It was replaced, in this view, by a colonate of dependent peasants. In the traditional view, this period also witnessed a demographic decline—I presume as a result of agricultural stagnation. Logically, this should primarily concern the rural slave population, but it seems as if at least some scholars think of a demographic decline among the citizens (thus combining the two explanations of agricultural and demographic policy).[26]

The rise and fall of villa agriculture is an attractive model, because it integrates crop choice, labour regime, markets and imperialism. The villa system could emerge, it is argued, because slave labour was available and provincial markets opened up as a result of Roman

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[23] Lo Cascio (1978) for a modern version of the argument. Dal Cason (1997) has shown the discontinuity of property holdings in Ligures Baebiani and Veleia, and the high proportion of those who originated from outside. Rather than as a sign of the decline of local elites I would explain this by the structurally high incidence of death. I have discussed this at greater length in Jongman (forthcoming b).

[24] Finley (1985) chapter vi, for the classic statement.

[25] Rostovtzeff (1957) 199, is the classic account. A recent expression is Giardina and Schiavone (1981). Criticism in Rathbone (1983); Wickham (1988) for a discussion of recent Italian work; Spurr (1986); Patterson (1987). See also Patterson's forthcoming book on the subject.

[26] Sirago (1958) *passim*; Heitland (1921) 269-74 and 296-300; Pliny's problems to get good tenants are central (esp. *Ep*. III, 19) but problematic evidence: Patterson (1987) 118 ff.

imperialism. It declined due to provincial competition in wines,[27] or because the supply of slaves dried up at the end of Rome's military expansion.[28] Either way, agricultural slavery declined. In short, the villa system was both the product and the ultimate victim of Rome's successful imperialism.

The problems with the 'villa paradigm' are two-fold.[29] First, we may question whether slave estates and viticulture really were that prominent during their high time. After all, man cannot live by wine alone. To produce enough wheat requires much land, whereas even small patches can produce vast quantities of wine and oil.[30] Spurr has insisted on the continued prominence of cereal agriculture.[31] Archaeologically too, the picture is diverse enough to question the prominence of the villa. Of course there were many villas, but also many small sites.[32]

Second, the decline under the Principate of the villa system, of viticulture and of agricultural slavery, may not have been so steep, and may have happened in other ways, and by different mechanisms. The decline in the use of Dressel 2-4 *amphorae* at the end of the first

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27 And not only in wine: the decline of Italian *terra sigillata* is another example of alleged provincial competition.

28 Finley (1980) 82 ff. and 128 ff., for strident discussion.

29 Here I do not want to discuss the problems surrounding the rise of the villa system and the decline of the independent peasant farmer under the Republic. In Jongman (forthcoming a) I argue that the demise of the republican peasant farmer has been exaggerated. Tchernia (1983) argues that the export (in Dressel 1 *amphorae*) of Italian wine to Gaul was driven by Roman demand for Gallic slaves and metals; wine exports were in payment of imports. This trade pattern provided Gallic nobles with Roman prestige goods, and means to pay for them. In the last few decades of the first century BC Dressel I *amphorae* disappear: Tchernia (1986) 126 ff. Elsewhere they are replaced by *amphorae* of the types Dressel 2-4 and Dressel 6, but not really in Gaul. At first, Italian exports are replaced, on a small scale, by Spanish exports, but after a few decades by local Gallic production: Tchernia (1986) 147. Because local production only emerges after an interval, provincial competition cannot explain the end of Italian exports. Tchernia (1986) 164: "... le vin italien ne recule pas, au début du règne d'Auguste, devant les amphores gauloises. Il s'en faut de vingt, trente au quarante ans." Instead, the Roman conquest had given the Gallic nobility different means to express their prestige, thus diminished their demand for wine, and made it harder to pay for wine by selling slaves and metals Tchernia (1986) 165.

30 For extended argument: Jongman (forthcoming a).

31 Spurr (1986).

32 Patterson (1987) esp. 134-142, and, in particular, his forthcoming book; Jongman (forthcoming a); Rathbone (1981); Jongman (1988) chapter III.

century AD is often seen to indicate a 'crisis' in viticulture.[33] However, Tchernia has argued that what happened is not that the wine trade disappears, but that it becomes invisible to us, because, *inter alia,* it used other—perishable or as yet unidentified—containers.[34] Dating the decline in slavery to precisely this period seems wrong. Archaeologically, some villas declined indeed, but others thrived.[35] The decline of villas is not so universal as to represent a demise of the system. Finley has strongly argued that the decline was slow indeed, and never complete.[36] Moreover, he denies that slavery declined because supplies dried up when Rome no longer fought wars of expansion. Instead, he argues, it declined because demand for slaves diminished when peasants could be exploited more easily. Neither the rise nor the decline of villa agriculture was as rapid or complete as has long been thought. Why should Rome have escaped the inertia of the *longue durée*?

However, let us imagine that I am wrong, and let us imagine that there was indeed a strong decline of the villa system (admittedly our ignorance is large). Could the *alimenta* have helped to fight this crisis? I want to argue that they could not. Historians, however, have made precise argument difficult: they have not specified the nature of the 'agricultural crisis', or the economic mechanisms at work. I shall argue that when we do that, we shall see that the picture is inconsistent, and certainly incompatible with the *alimenta* as a policy to fight a crisis.

When historians claim that the *alimenta* served to fight an agricultural crisis, they fail to specify the logic of the economic mechanisms. How could the crisis (if it existed) be alleviated by a capital injection? The alleged economic benefits of the *alimenta* seem to rest on the imprecise notion that all social and economic problems may be solved by throwing money at them. The question, therefore, is whether alimentary loans were a welcome source of capital for

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[33] This, therefore, is its second decline, preceded by the presumably more local decline of exports to Gaul. Crisis is a popular concept.

[34] Tchernia (1986) chapters IV and V.

[35] Tchernia (1986) 264 ff.; Patterson (1987) esp. 134-142; Barker and Lloyd (1991). An excellent survey in Lo Cascio (1994).

[36] Finley (1980) chapter IV.

landowners, and whether the agricultural economy really suffered from capital scarcity.[37]

Capital scarcity can be a problem for pre-industrial economies, but only under conditions of population pressure. If all cultivable land is used, and population continues to rise, agriculture needs to become more intensive. The increased work-force may be used for that, but at the expense of—sometimes rapidly—declining marginal returns to labour, and thus at the expense of the standard of living of the working population. Capital injections may avert this dismal prospect. Thus, *alimenta* as economic policy make sense if Italy suffered from the consequences of over-population. That may have been the case, but those who believe in an agricultural crisis tend to combine it with demographic decline and stagnating demand. Anyhow, it certainly makes little sense to fight overpopulation with a capital injection scheme if the returns on the investments are used to improve the chances of survival of young children. As a scheme for agricultural investment, the *alimenta* were probably an ineffective way to combat a non-existent crisis.

Finally, from the point of view of the landowners, alimentary loans must have been a mixed blessing. They may have provided them with some additional capital (if that was what they needed and could not obtain elsewhere), but the security they had to provide was a disconcerting 12 1/2 fold, which must have reduced the value of these properties significantly.[38] Indeed, it has been argued that the loans were not quite voluntary, but imposed.[39] With the *alimenta*, the emperor came to hold much landed property owned by Italy's elite as security—or ransom—for their good behaviour.

The second group of explanations for the *alimenta* is concerned with the benefits of their expenditure. No doubt the urban poor benefited most from the *alimenta*. The question is, however, if we should

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[37] Carlsen (1999) 280 speaks of "an under-monetized economy". That is hard to maintain after Duncan-Jones (1994), esp 168, demonstrating that the quantity of money in circulation was enormous, and that some two-thirds of its value was in gold. The elite had a very high financial liquidity: Jongman (2001 b). I shall return to this in Jongman (forthcoming c).

[38] Duncan-Jones (1982) 294, 298-9, 306-315.

[39] Duncan-Jones (1982) 307.

therefore view *alimenta* as an almost modern policy of poor relief. In Pliny's account the *alimenta* are squarely placed in an account of his gift to soldiers and people, *ne quis e plebe Romana, dante congiarium te, hominem se magis sentiret fuisse quam civem* (*Panegyricus* 25,5). Such gifts made them feel citizens.[40] That is as far as it went, however. As Gordon observes about euergetism, it "is the socially responsible use of wealth, and so, as a system, proclaims the necessity of social inequality."[41] Far more prominent, however, than poor relief in Pliny's account of the *alimenta* in Rome is the resulting growth in the number of births, and the future importance of these children in the army. And indeed, the most commonly held modern view is that the scheme intended (unsuccessfully) to stimulate population growth in Italy, perhaps with the intent to provide more soldiers to the army.

For ancient states a large population was attractive, and is seen as a sign of good times.[42] Good emperors are identified with births and population growth, just as bad emperors are held responsible for sterility and death (*tollere filios cupiunt et publicis malis sterilitas indicta recluditur*, Seneca *De Clementia* I, 13,5).[43] When Pliny praises Trajan (*Panegyricus* I, 27) that due to him more children will be born (*Super omnia est tamen quod talis es ut sub te liberos tollere libeat, expediat*), it is because Trajan is a good emperor. Here, more children is always better, and the wish that they shall be born does not indicate that the population was declining in numbers. How could Trajan be a good emperor if the population was in decline? It is, therefore, wrong to read Pliny's text as proof of a demographic contraction. Moreover, he does not even say that there was one, probably rightly. Our ignorance of Roman population figures is considerable, but the first century AD was the period in which Italy may have reached its largest

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40 Wierschowski (1998) 757, argues that the real intention, however, is revealed in *Epitome de Caesaribus* 12,4: they were for those *natos parentibus egistosis*. He also mentions Pliny, *Panegyricus* 26,5, where Pliny says that where the rich have big rewards for having children (and big penalties for not having them), the poor have one reason: a *bonus princeps*. The empire needs the rich and the *plebs*. If he does not care for them, the emperor hastens the fall of the state.

41 Gordon (1990) 231.

42 C.f. Currie (1996) 171 ff. and 181: "It articulated the decidedly Roman notion of the inseparability of empire and prosperity, of peace and war."

43 Born (1934); Versnel (1980) especially 561.

population.[44] Thereafter it probably declined, but only slowly at first. Trajan could not know that he was not only living in the age when Italy's population was larger than ever before, but also larger than for the next millennium.

If Italy had a demographic problem, it was in the high urban mortality. Ancient sources may follow imperial ideology in their emphasis on an insufficient number of births, but in reality mortality was the decisive variable.[45] Especially in the cities mortality was so high that human reproductive potential had to be used almost to the full.[46] At prevailing levels of urban life expectancy (e_0=20 is probably about right) women needed to give birth to about six children to maintain a stationary population.[47] Mortality, however, differed little between social classes: most people died of infectious diseases. The Roman elite paid a heavy price for its cultural and political preference for urban life.[48] Death was democratic.

Similarly, a need for soldiers may loom large in modern histories, but may not work to explain the *alimenta*. After all, *alimenta* were a tremendous overkill if the practical purpose was to have more soldiers. Roman armies were a male domain, and giving subsidies to girls would be a waste of money. But it was also overkill in another

[44] Beloch (1886) 437; Parkin (1992) 58-66, on long-term trends, on how difficult it is for us to discern them, and how contemporaries could know and perceive them. Lo Cascio (1994) for a good discussion of the trend. I remain unconvinced by his arguments for a much higher absolute level than is commonly accepted. Jongman (1988) 65-76. Wierschowski (1994), esp. 364-5, concurs with the pessimism in some of our sources and sees demographic problems already in the Augustan age. He ignores at his peril the warnings and methodological advances in demographic analysis as pioneered in Hopkins (1966). Scheidel (2000) for the best recent survey on the historical demography of the Roman Empire.

[45] Legislation existed, the *ius trium liberorum*, the privileges for parents with three or more children, enacted by Augustus. The reason given for that legislation was the decadence of parents who no longer wanted to have enough children. The advantages of the law largely concerned rich parents, and the true disadvantages rich freedmen: Wallace-Hadrill (1981). For all we know, Italy's population was rising at the time. The *ius trium liberorum* was demographically unnecessary. Augustus' family legislation established him as the moral guardian of Italy and of its elite in particular.

[46] In Jongman (forthcoming a) I argue that the cities (and Rome in particular) could, in fact, not maintain their populations without significant immigration.

[47] Women who did not remarry after the death of their husbands (and such deaths were frequent) were a serious drain to the system.

[48] Scheidel (1999).

respect. The majority of the male recipients ultimately did not join the army. So why waste money on them and attach no conditions to the subsidies? Nothing was easier than to constitute a special corps of young boys to be brought up by the state as its storm troops. Rome would not have been the only culture to do so.

Contrary to the ideological rhetoric about the strength of Rome's citizen army, by the end of the first century AD Italians had lost much of their importance in the professional army.[49] Demographically this army of 300,000 men was no great burden on an empire of perhaps 60 million; the contrast with the military burdens of the Republic is dramatic.[50] Recruitment was not often a great problem; the standard of living of even the lowest ranks in the army was well above that of the mass of the population. Legionaries' pay was about eight times average subsistence requirements.[51] Unlike their early-modern counterparts, Roman professional soldiers were a privileged group in society.[52] Mortality in battle was probably more than compensated by the effects of an improved and secure diet, and military medical facilities.[53] The size of the Roman army was not limited by the availability of warm bodies, but by a lack of hard coin.

Rome did not lack warriors, and *alimenta* were not an effective means to have more of them. As Wallace-Hadrill writes about imperial marriage legislation: "One can hardly maintain that emperors simultaneously imposed marital legislation primarily in order to raise troops and yet failed to recruit them. So the military theme is *ideological*."[54] That by the end of the first century AD only few soldiers came from Italy, may not be important militarily, but politically it was important. Citizens in Italy had lost the basis for their power. Because they were no longer important as soldiers they had to be incorporated by other means. Gladiatorial games replaced

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[49] Forni (1953); Forni and Manini (1969); Duncan-Jones (1982) 317. Contra: Wierschowski (1998) 769 ff., who argues that just over 25 % is still a lot.

[50] Hopkins (1978) 31-37, especially the telling graph on p. 34.

[51] Hard-working adult males such as soldiers obviously required more than average quantities of food. Even so, pay was well above subsistence. For food requirements: Hopkins (1980) 118 n.51; Clark and Haswell (1970) 57 ff. and 175; Foxhall and Forbes (1982).

[52] Jongman (1988) 22.

[53] Dolmans (1992).

[54] Wallace-Hadrill (1981) 59.

real battles as a focus of citizenship, and the *alimenta* represented young citizens as future soldiers (*ex his ... castra replebuntur*, Pliny, *Panegyricus* 28,5) *precisely because that is what they would not be*.[55]

In recent years, the explanations of the *alimenta* as economic or social policies have indeed been attacked by some scholars, to be replaced by analyses of the cultural and political relations between the emperor and his subjects. Bossu, having rejected the traditional rationalizing and utilitarian explanations, emphasizes the generosity and liberality of imperial euergetism.[56] Woolf has tried to place the emperor's behaviour in the world of patronage and he underscores the symbolic importance of giving food. *Alimenta* are the acts of good emperors.[57] I will argue, however, that his insistently cultural explanation is flawed when he underestimates the size of the material benefits.

Roman emperors were different from modern governments. They did not have the means of modern government, and they did not have the pretensions and ambitions. That has been said often before. *Alimenta* had seemed a surprisingly modern exception to this generalization, only argued away by the unwarranted conclusion that they were in the end quite ineffective. However, they were effective, but not as modern economic and social policies.

The extent of the scheme

The *alimenta* were an ambitious scheme. However, modern ancient historians are not inclined to credit Roman emperors with great powers of administration (even though the related *frumentationes* were and remained unprecedented in European history). We do not credit the Roman elite for its humanity either. As a consequence the accepted modern view on the *alimenta* appears to be that they were an example of what emperors could not achieve: they were largely a failure.[58] It is held that the *alimenta* were of limited importance to a

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[55] Kleijwegt (1991) 101-16, draws attention to the military training and displays by the *iuventus*.

[56] Bossu (1989) 382.

[57] Woolf (1990).

[58] Finley (1985) 40.

small group of people in only few towns.[59] Clearly, *alimenta* are all the more fascinating if such minimalism is wrong. Indeed, I shall argue that the allowances were generous, that they supported a large proportion of the free children in the cities, and that many Italian cities had *alimenta*. The benefits of imperial rule were not only loaded with symbolism, but also very real.

The monthly allowances of 10-16 *sestertii* may not seem generous to historians more used to literary sources and to the vast wealth of Rome's elite. Cicero may claim that 100,000 *sestertii* per annum represents a modest income (*Stoic paradoxes* 49), but that need not detain us. What was the value of the 192 *sestertii* received by legitimate boys in Veleia? At a typical wheat price of perhaps 3 *sestertii* per *modius*, the allowance could have bought 64 *modii*, or just over 400 kg of wheat.[60] That was quite a lot: minimum subsistence, the standard of living for many ordinary Romans, has been estimated at about 250 kg wheat or its equivalent.[61] That is an average figure, intended to cover children, adults, and the aged, of both sexes; children obviously needed much less. Even for *spuriae* the *alimenta* were generous at 120 *sestertii* per annum, worth about 260 kg of wheat.

I now want to argue that *alimenta* were probably given to almost all boys in Veleia (later I shall discuss whether Veleia was typical for other cities). The argument involves a number of uncertain estimates, but I do believe it is not fatally undermined by that uncertainty. We must begin with an estimate of the free urban population of Roman Italy. For 28 BC, the best possible estimate is probably that of Keith Hopkins, who arrived at a figure of 500,000 outside Rome. The first century AD probably witnessed further urban growth of unknown dimensions. Administratively, there were 431 towns in early imperial

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59 Duncan-Jones (1982) 315-319 is the most authoritative summary of currently accepted opinion. Finley (1985) 201-203 follows the 'traditional' view that only few children in a limited number of cities profited, but acutely questions the agricultural or demographic motives.

60 Duncan-Jones (1982) 146: "The basic level seems most often to have been between HS 2 and HS 4 per modius." It is only fair to acknowledge that Duncan-Jones also documents the wide variety of wheat prices. Famine prices are higher than those during a glut, and Rome was more expensive than, for example, north Africa. Duncan-Jones (1982) 369-372, for a discussion of measures.

61 Jongman (1988) 195.

Italy. Therefore, using the 28 BC estimate, the average free population of an Italian town was some 1160 people, reminding us that cities could be quite small. Of these, theoretically, about 210 were boys of the requisite age, and about 180 were girls.[62] In Veleia, *alimenta* were given to 264 boys. Even if the population of Roman Italy grew by a third during the first century AD, Veleian numbers would still have been more than adequate to cover all boys in an average town. Veleia, moreover, was not a large town.[63] In Veleia, therefore, for all we can tell *alimenta* were given to all citizen boys, and even to a small number of girls (I assume without knowing it for sure, that these girls were given *alimenta* because all boys already received them). Therefore, we do not need to speculate what distinguished the recipients other than their age, sex, and citizenship.[64]

Thus the Veleian *alimenta* mirror the highly inclusive generosity which I have recently claimed for the *frumentationes* in Rome. There too, scholars have claimed that rations were only given to those whose origin was in Rome, to the poor, or to the not quite so poor. However, in Rome too it can be shown that the traditional number of recipients (200,000) was larger than the likely number of male citizens from the age of eleven (150,000)[65] Both *frumentationes* and *alimenta* were benefits of citizenship. They were not specifically targeted at the poor,

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[62] Duncan-Jones (1982) 288: boys were probably supported until the age of 18, girls until 14. The choice of a particular model life table makes very little difference.

[63] Duncan-Jones (1982) 290, and Carlsen (1999) 280, for the size of Veleia.

[64] Woolf (1990) 204-211, discusses at length whether the *alimenta* were just for the poor, also for the poor, or not for the poor. However, he hedges his bets so much that it is hard to see what he believes: I think he wants to see the recipients somewhere in the middle of the social spectrum. In my view, the proportion of the citizen population that benefited was so large that little of the problem remains. Demarcation is clearly political (it concerns citizens, and freeborn citizens in particular) but obviously benefits the poor among them in particular.

[65] Therefore, possible extensions to include younger people, or some categories of women, did not imply that the number of recipients need have risen above 200,000. This calculation makes the usual assumptions of a stationary population without migration. It also assumes an unrealistically high life expectancy at birth of some 25 years. If we lower the life expectancy and raise the qualifying age (14 is also a possibility), the number of those qualifying within the population of 600,000 is even smaller (closer to 100,000), because there will be more children: Jongman (2000) 273; Jongman (1997) and Jongman (2001a). These calculations provide support for a lower *numerus clausus* of recipients (150,000) advocated in Virlouvet (1995) 194 ff. Equally, however, they are a strong argument against Virlouvet's view that there was a significant number of citizens in Rome who did *not* get *frumentum publicum*.

and were not, therefore, poor relief in the strict sense. That is not to say, however, that they did not help the poor.[66] The standard of living of the mass of the population was appallingly low. As Garnsey wrote not so long ago: "accounts of the diet and health of ancient classical societies have generally been unrealistically favourable."[67] Many lived at or near subsistence, with little more to eat than staple foods such as cereals, and not much to spend beyond food. For them, *frumentationes* and *alimenta* covered a significant part of subsistence needs. For the poorest, *frumentationes* and *alimenta* meant they did not need that much more to survive. Those who had a bit more to spend could use that income to buy more attractive food such as vegetables and even meat.[68] As Fogel has shown so eloquently, that could have improved their health.[69] In Rome *frumentationes* covered about two thirds of the subsistence needs of the free population. In Veleia the *alimenta* provided about two fifths of the subsistence cost of the free population of an average town.[70]

A town with an alimentary scheme was lucky. But how many towns did indeed receive one? Was Veleia an exception, or the rule? Epigraphic evidence for the existence of government *alimenta* survives from at least 49 towns in Italy, with a heavy concentration in the central regions.[71] With an implicit argument from silence ancient historians have usually interpreted this to mean that most Italian towns did not receive a scheme.[72] The heavy concentration in central Italy is explained either by the needs of those regions, or by the limits to effective Roman state power. Patterson argues that these were the regions with the highest rural poverty, whereas Duncan-Jones and Woolf suggest that the concentration may reflect the closer links of those towns with patrons in Rome, or with the emperor and the

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66 Bruhns (1981) 34.

67 Garnsey (1999) 60.

68 Jongman (2001 a); add King (1999) for meat.

69 Fogel (1985). Romans may have been surprisingly tall: Garnsey (1999) 58-9, for some tantalizing data on stature, though viewed more pessimistically.

70 The total amount that was distributed in the two main schemes at Veleia was HS 55800 a year. If Veleia had indeed the 1160 free citizens of my hypothetical average town, their annual survival at subsistence cost about HS 133,400. For subsistence costs see Jongman (1988) 195 f.

71 Duncan-Jones (1982) 337 ff.; Eck (1979) 148 n.14 and 183 ff., adds more, but many are a bit uncertain. If he is right, it only strengthens my case.

72 Duncan-Jones (1982) 337 ff.; Finley (1985) 202; Patterson (1987) 129.

imperial bureaucracy.[73] Here, the absence of *alimenta* elsewhere is held to mark the inability of the Roman state to implement and complete a scheme of this magnitude and complexity.

Such minimalism has been criticised rightly by Werner Eck.[74] He argued that, in fact, we have good epigraphic indications that more cities had *alimenta*, and concludes that on our present knowledge of the sources, "we must assume a truly wide distribution."[75] Even Eck's epigraphic acumen cannot stretch the evidence enough, however: for most cities we have no direct evidence that they had *alimenta*. Did they, therefore, not have them? Historians often have to speculate about the extent and quality of their documentation. Unfortunately, they too often fall into the trap of what may be termed the positivistic fallacy, which assumes that what remains is a true and unproblematic reflection of past reality. Ancient data are rarely good enough for an argument from silence. Moreover, there is no explicit legal or literary evidence for the view that *alimenta* were restricted to a small proportion of the towns of Roman Italy.

Woolf himself has demonstrated convincingly that the distribution of alimentary towns reflects the distribution of inscriptions in Roman Italy and, therefore, the distribution of cities.[76] Central Italy is not only the area where we find most towns with evidence for *alimenta*, but it is also where we find most towns of any kind. It is the area with the densest population, and it is the area that has given us the largest number of surviving inscriptions.[77] The distribution pattern of towns with *alimenta* is by no means unique. Private endowment schemes of various kind are distributed more or less the same as imperial *alimenta*.[78] We also find this same distribution pattern in many other less directly comparable institutions and data such as *sportulae*, public

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[73] Duncan-Jones, *Economy* 315-19, 337-8, 382; Patterson (1987) 129. Woolf (1990) 219-20: "We might surmise that patronage played a part in securing a scheme for a town in the first place ..." To me, that is not quite consistent with his view on 200-4 that the distribution pattern reflects the distribution of inscriptions.

[74] Eck (1979) 146-189, esp. 159-60 and 187-9. Wierschowski (1998) 762 suggests all cities may have had *alimenta*, but gives no arguments for this view.

[75] Eck (1979) 159 n. 63.

[76] Woolf (1990) 200 ff.

[77] Woolf (1990) 200-204. Jongman (1988) 67-70, for urbanization and epigraphic density, including distribution maps.

[78] Andreau (1977) 205.

buildings, or the origin of *tribuni militum a populo*.[79] The concentration of documented official alimentary schemes in central Italy cannot be explained by anything specific to imperial policy. The best explanation is that it reflects the distribution of Italian cities, and the related distribution of surviving inscriptions (which are almost entirely of urban origin). The distribution of inscriptions with *alimenta* is a measure of urbanization, and not of urban or rural poverty, or imperial favouritism.[80]

As Duncan-Jones had already observed, the depth of attestation is too slight "to imply that the 49 examples which we know are anything approaching a complete record."[81] Most alimentary towns give us no more than a single inscription, and only four may have more than two inscriptions.[82] That suggests that many more than 49 towns had official *alimenta*, but that not enough inscriptions survive to document them all.[83] It makes sense, therefore, to compare the documentation on *alimenta* with that on other institutions: how many inscriptions survive to document institutions that we believe existed in all cities of

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[79] Jouffroy (1986) for a multitude of distribution maps on public buildings. Nicolet (1967). I am sure many more examples could be given.

[80] Another approach is to try to correlate the surviving distribution pattern with some other data. If we can discern a particular pattern, we may still have a selection. John Patterson's hypothesis that the distribution pattern reflects the incidence of rural poverty tries just that: Patterson (1987) 129. He is sceptical about the thesis of a general crisis in Italian agriculture, and he agrees that the *alimenta* were not meant to combat such a crisis. Yet, in his desire to combine a discussion of the *alimenta* and one on Italian agriculture, he then claims that the *alimenta* indicate the incidence of rural poverty. Unfortunately, the independent evidence for the distribution of rural poverty is almost non-existent. The correlation is assumed, and then the distribution of alimentary towns is used as proxy data for the distribution of rural poverty. Without solid independent evidence for rural poverty that is not legitimate. Good discussion in Woolf (1990) 199-204, with a lapse on 202 where rural poverty once again raises its head Moreover, Patterson's view implies that the help was intended for rural rather than urban recipients, for which there is no evidence, and which goes against the grain of such distributions in the Roman world. Pliny's *alimenta* at Como were explicitly for the *plebs urbana*: *CIL* V 5262. Finally, in common with most others, Patterson ignores the problems of inference from data which have survived in limited numbers: were there really no *alimenta* anywhere other than in those 49 cities?

[81] Duncan-Jones (1982) 315-6.

[82] Peltuinum and Auximum: Duncan-Jones (1982) 316. Eck (1979) adds Lucus Feroniae, Alba Fucens (*CIL* IX 3950 is indeed a *likely* reference) and Veleia (but *CIL* XI 1151 really is too insecure: it is no more than a fragment with numbers).

[83] Elsewhere, I have developed and used a statistical technique to analyze this relation between documentation and information: Jongman (1988) appendix IV. Here, it is unnecessary to employ such sophisticated means.

Roman Italy? Not all cities, for example, have left us evidence that they had town-councils, even though we believe that they did. The choice of a relevant institution for comparison is obviously somewhat arbitrary, and dictated in part by the availability of published counts. As we have noted earlier, the government *alimenta* were not the only such scheme. Private *alimenta* existed as well, and so did a variety of other endowment schemes for public feasts, meals (*epula*) and a whole range of other good causes. Given the variety and multiplicity of such endowment schemes, and the multitude of benefactors, we may expect that numerous inscriptions were put up in Italian cities, mostly to honour the benefactor in affectionate language. However, such private endowment schemes (including those for roses in perpetuity on the grave of a wife) are documented in only 90 towns. A more restrictive count, eliminating private commemorative schemes and schemes where the endowment is not administered by a city, reduces this figure to 51 towns.[84] Private endowment schemes are known in roughly equal numbers as imperial *alimenta*. Moreover, their distribution pattern mirrors that of the imperial *alimenta*.

A final measure of the extent of the *alimenta* would be to calculate their total cost: if the scheme was expensive, then maybe not all cities had *alimenta*. So let us calculate the cost of the *alimenta* if all Italian cities had them. Obviously, these are rough calculations and may only serve to indicate an order of magnitude. The Veleian scheme cost HS 55,800 annually or just over 1.1 million *sestertii* on a capital basis. If we assume that Veleia was an average city, and that Italy had 431 cities the total cost was 24 million *sestertii* annually, representing a capital outlay of 480 million *sestertii*.[85] These are large sums, but

[84] Andreau (1977). Inevitably the analogy is flawed. Public *alimenta* each generated far more inscriptions for officials than private foundations. However, towns may have had several private foundations.

[85] This is a high estimate based on a broad definition of what constitutes a town. Fewer towns makes the *alimenta* cheaper. Wierschowski (1998) 762, for a similar estimate. Carlsen (1999) 280 f. uses the average cost of *alimenta* in Veleia and Ligures Baebiani, which makes *alimenta* even cheaper. In fact, he makes them so cheap that his subsequent calculations become misleading. His estimate of grain consumption in the city of Rome is far too high (200-400 kg per head per year), and it pertains to the entire population of the city, including slaves. This he then compares with *alimenta* which were only given to a proportion of the population (as were the *frumentationes* in Rome, the institution he should have compared the *alimenta* with).

easily affordable for an emperor who wanted these schemes.[86] The total capital outlay was not made in one year. We know the system took a while to emerge, and most capital expenditure could have been spread over a period of perhaps one or two decades.[87] Hopkins has estimated the annual cost of the Roman army in the first century AD at 445 (+/- 50) million HS. Duncan-Jones and Hopkins estimate that tax revenue was in the range 800-900 million *sestertii* annually.[88]

The tentative figures for the possible extent of the imperial *alimenta* obviously only indicate an order of magnitude. It is comforting to note, however, that they indicate a feasible level of expenditure, and a meaningful support. Thus, the imperial *alimenta* probably provided substantial subsistence support to most children in many Italian cities.

A parallel to the frumentationes

The generosity of the *alimenta* is remarkable. If *alimenta* at the level of Veleia were given in all Italian cities, there were about 130,000 direct recipients. That is a large number of people: in 28 BC there were probably about 500,000 free citizens living in Italian cities other than Rome.[89] In the following century this number probably increased, but we do not know by how much. In any case, the number of those who received *alimenta* was large, and almost comparable to that of those who received *frumentum publicum* in Rome (200,000 out of

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Moreover, his estimate of the purchasing value of HS 192 uses a grain price which is on the high side.

86 Duncan-Jones (1982) 318, for some comparably large items of public expenditure. Daguet-Gagey (1997).

87 Eck (1979) 146-189, for the best discussion of how the emperor established and organized them.

88 Hopkins (1980) 125, for military expenditure, 119 for revenue; Hopkins (1995/6) 46; Duncan-Jones (1994) 33-46; For other, but not really different, estimates: von Freyberg (1989) 112 ff. The *alimenta* were, however, not paid from public funds, but from the emperor's private patrimony. The Dacian royal tresasure captured by Trajan was the "equivalent of 31.5 million Trajanic *aurei*, and the silver 160 million *denarii*": Bennett (1997) 101. The *alimenta* clearly predate this capture, but, equally, are often connected. Currie (1996) for excellent discussion of the connection at the Arch of Beneventum. Surely, the treasure would have made it easier to complete the project.

89 Hopkins (1978) 68; Scheidel (2000) for recent discussion of population trends.

perhaps 600,000 free citizens). The similarity, moreover, does not end with total numbers, but extends to the size of the benefits. In Rome, the *plebs frumentaria* received 5 *modii* per person per month (=400 kg per annum, which is above the subsistence needs of even a hard-working adult). To buy that wheat, at the conventional price of 3 *sestertii* per *modius*, required 15 *sestertii* per month. That is almost the same as what 'legitimate' boys received in the *alimenta* (16 *sestertii*).[90] It suggests that the *alimenta* may have been modelled partly on the *frumentationes*, and may represent a form of extension of them. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the earliest private *alimenta* in Italy were referred to as *frumentum*, whereas Pliny refers to Trajan's extension of the *frumentationes* as *alimenta*.[91] In this section I want to investigate some of the similarities and differences between *frumentationes* and *alimenta*. I shall argue that many of the practical differences between the two institutions are due to different circumstances in Rome and in the other cities of Italy.

As I have argued elsewhere, the food supply of pre-industrial cities was invariably insecure, and required subsidies and public intervention.[92] Without that, the urban poor were left to adapt to market forces by a change in body weight, to borrow a phrase from Keith Hopkins.[93] Cities were death traps at the best of times, as witnessed by the murderous mortality in early-modern towns. In Rome alone, more than 50,000 people died each year, to be disposed of in pits, together with dead animals and household refuse.[94] Entitlement to a ration in the distributions became a forceful

[90] Conversely, the near identity between these benefits in cash and in kind is a reassuring indication—not proof, of course—that HS 3 per *modius* of wheat may be indeed be a representative price.

[91] From Atina—Neronian age: *C.I.L.* X 5056 = *I.L.S.* 977 = nr. 650 in the list in Duncan-Jones (1982). Pliny, *Panegyricus* 28,5 and 27,1.

[92] Jongman and Dekker (1989).

[93] Hopkins (1983 b) 90.

[94] Of a population of 1 million with a life expectancy at birth of 20 years 1/20 part dies each year, i.e. 50,000 people. In reality, the figure was probably even higher. Immigrants came to Rome to die there, and life expectancy may have been even lower. Jongman (forthcoming a) for excess mortality in Rome and immigration. Scheidel (forthcoming) for the disease regime. Hopkins (1983 a) chapter IV and Scobie (1986) for lurid evocations.

epigraphic expression of citizenship.[95] Food was a highly emotive issue.[96] The high level of urbanization in Roman Italy could only be sustained by massive subsistence support.

In the cities of late medieval and early-modern Europe, subsistence support was primarily financial (and only aimed at the needy). Those cities were mostly small, and supplies could easily be bought elsewhere. The city of Rome was different: its demand for food was too large in relation to the amount of freely traded grain.[97] Physical stocks were necessary, and so were distributions in kind. However, that required a major effort and massive organization.[98] Outside Rome, financial subsidies would normally have been sufficient, as they were in late medieval and early-modern cities. What was both necessary and feasible in Rome, was probably neither necessary nor possible in Italian towns. The *alimenta* were, therefore, mostly limited to financial distributions.[99] In their name, they retained a reference to what the masses needed most: food.

Through the *alimenta* many citizen families in the cities of Roman Italy received subsistence support on a level roughly comparable to what was given to the *plebs frumentaria* in the city of Rome. The *alimenta* may also have had a comparable effect. As with the *frumentationes*, it was not the poor who were targeted specifically, but also as in Rome it was the poor who benefitted most.[100] *Alimenta* may

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[95] Nicolet (1976) 708-9, for the revealing similarity between voting and receiving *frumentum*.

[96] Woolf (1990) 212-6, stresses the symbolic importance of food-giving. True, but I should think food is symbolically important *precisely because* it satisfies a vital need.

[97] Jongman and Dekker (1989) 120.

[98] Eck (1979) 160.

[99] Italian cities sometimes also had an *annona*: Mrozek (1994).

[100] It has been denied that the beneficiaries of the *frumentationes* were primarily the poor: Rea (1972) 8; Turner (1975), Carrié (1975), recently Woolf (1990) 205 ff., for a similar position with regard to the imperial *alimenta*). Contra: Rowland (1976). Finley (1985) 201, aptly criticizes those who argue that poverty was an irrelevant variable: "To argue ... that every senator also had the right to queue up for his ration, or to send a domestic to do so for him, strikes me as pedantic absurdity." *Dig.* XXXII,35,pr. (Scaevola, *lib. XVII Digest.*) shows that *clarissimi* could not inherit *tesserae*: Nicolet (1976) 701. I am not, however, sure there is a serious problem: there were so many beneficiaries that the poor must have constituted the majority of the recipients. If, as is probably about right, there were 600,000 free citizens in Rome—see Hopkins (1978) 68-69, and if their age distribution was normal—which is probably wrong: Jongman (2001 a) and Jongman (forthcoming a)—male citizens over

not have been part of an imperial economic or social policy, but their impact on the standard of living of the masses was significant and welcome.

The *alimenta* were paid from a huge capital fund provided by the emperor, who then left the administration in local hands. Unlike *frumentationes*, and like most *congiaria*, *alimenta* were paid by the emperor himself, from his personal patrimony. The establishment of the *alimenta* roughly coincided with the successful Dacian campaign, and the acquisition of enormous booty. *Alimenta* and the Dacian wars are both prominent themes on the same arch of Beneventum.[101] The *alimenta* were the spoils of empire. The extension of such benefits beyond the city of Rome redefines the political core of the empire, and the nature of citizenship. Perhaps they were the direct spoils of the Dacian campaign, but even if they were not, they were due to Rome's imperialism. In a society without evolved capital markets, there were not many ways to put that money to work, and few alternatives to its devoluted administration. The practical differences between *frumentationes* and *alimenta* can mostly be explained by practical reasons.

The infantilization of the citizen

Administrative convenience is not, however, the only way to interpret the organization of the *alimenta*.[102] As Richard Gordon wrote about the euergetism of Menodora, a wealthy woman from Pamphylia who donated *inter alia* 300,000 *drachmae* to help orphans and children:[103] "It is evident that the major purpose of this philanthropy is not to relieve poverty. Part of the function of philanthropic gestures is to register and naturalize the inequalities of the social system in each community, just as the emperor's patronage and generosity marshals

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the age of 10 counted 133,000. Not all of them were *ingenui*. *Liberti* and recent immigrants probably had to wait for a while (until the next generation?) to be included. Therefore, *frumentationes* cared for nearly all. They were not poor relief in the sense that they were only aimed at the poor, but they surely relieved the poor. See also Jongman (2000).

[101] Currie (1996) for the arch of Beneventum.

[102] Cf. Johnston (1985).

[103] Gordon (1990) 229.

and orchestrates the overall hierarchy of the system as a whole. The gifts objectify the relations of respect, dependence, authority and power upon which the entire euergetic system rests."

The two principal components of the organization of the *alimenta*—private imperial capital funding and decentralized administration—are both symbolically important too in that they underscore the virtues of the ruler and the unity between ruler and local elite. The creation of a capital fund extends the emperor's benefits to generations beyond the present, and makes him deserving of the gratitude of future generations too.[104] The good emperor becomes immortal, not only because he supports the young from his private fortune, but also because he ensures that after his death, children will still be supported. The implication of the local elite in the payment of *alimenta* (as landowners and as magistrates) is not only convenient. It represents imperial benefactions as a continuation of the benefactions by individual members of the local elite.[105] It underwrites their position with imperial authority—and it positions them as extensions of his rule. As a signal to the elite, that is reassuring and disturbing at once.[106] To the people, it links new privileges of their citizenship to the wealth of the propertied classes, and to imperial rule. In short, the complex organization of the *alimenta* not only reveals the practical problems of Roman administration, it also gives a multivalent representation of the relations between emperor, landowning elite and ordinary Italian citizens; its ideological functionality rests precisely in the ensuing confusion between these multiple meanings.

One difference between *frumentationes* and *alimenta* certainly escapes most practical explanation, and deserves special attention: why were the *alimenta* targeted at children if they were not a demographic policy to breed more soldiers and civilians? It is true that by giving to children rather than adults, childless couples were excluded from the emperor's benevolence. Also, for most practical purposes *liberti* were now excluded (children would normally be

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[104] Currie (1996) 174: "To link children's bodies with the physical empire evoked its future growth and development."

[105] C.f. Woolf (1990) 219-20. C.f. Gordon (1990) 208.

[106] They needed no reminder of penalties: they had given 12 1/2 fold security for the alimentary loans.

either slaves or *ingenui)*. Pliny describes the children who benefited from his *alimenta* at Como as *ingenui* and *ingenuae* (*Ep.* 7,18). On the other hand, among the *plebs frumentaria liberti* had probably not been more than a small minority either, *pace* invectives that they were manumitted precisely to qualify for *frumentum publicum*.[107] Targeting children rather than adults as the recipients of imperial benevolence made little practical difference. None of the children would be allowed to keep the money for themselves. It was family income. So why were the *alimenta* given to children rather than adults?

Imagine what it was like. Each month the children congregated in the forum of the town, accompanied by their parents. They would probably be dressed in the *toga praetexta*, to mark their citizenship.[108] One after another they would step out to receive their coins from the magistrate. Apart from the *spuriae*, all beneficiaries received their allowances in nice silver *denarii* (1 *denarius* = 4 *sestertii*), with the head of the emperor on one side (some Trajanic coins bear the legend ALIM(entatio) ITAL(iae)[109]). The symbolic meaning of this should not be overlooked.[110] The arch of Beneventum depicts such an event.[111] The arch commemorates both Trajan's militairy achievements and his benevolence. Of the former, the Dacian wars are prominent, and of the latter the grant of *alimenta* to the town was a major example. In a prominent relief on the arch the emperor himself is in charge of the distribution (rather than the usual local *quaestores alimentorum*). As Sarah Currie writes: "the emphasis upon empire in the reliefs confirmed how strongly Trajan's sustenance of Italian children was

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[107] For such invectives: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman antiquities* IV xxiv 4-8. If anything, the invectives probably indicate that only few *liberti* received *frumentum publicum*. They were a deviation of the established order.

[108] Gabelmann (1985); Kleijwegt (1993); Jongman (1988) 318-9.

[109] Cizek (1983) 248. Strack (1931-7) I, 188-9 for *Alimentatio Italiae*, 190 for intimately related *Italia restituta*. Woolf (1990) 223.

[110] *Sportulae* of HS 4 (or, sometimes, multiples of this) are common: Duncan-Jones (1982) 266.

[111] Currie (1996); Hassel (1966); Rotili (1972) esp. 78-91; Wallace-Hadrill (1990); Woolf (1990) 224. The children are guided or carried to the emperor by their fathers. The *alimenta* are clearly an important theme, given the prominent location in the gateway, and opposite a relief commemorating the *Via Traiana* (the occasion for building the arch). Another relief on the arch depicts children devoted to Roma and Mars. Besides these references to imperial benevolence, the arch commemorates the emperor's military campaigns, and the Dacian wars in particular.

linked to their status as future makers and defenders of empire."[112] *Alimenta* were a momentous occasion, but not only when the emperor was presiding. The ceremony combined group identity, magisterial authority and benefits into a highly socializing mixture.

If, on a practical level, it hardly mattered that children rather than adults were the recipients of this imperial benevolence, ideologically and symbolically it was all the more important. It redefined the status of the imperial benefactor, and most of all, it redefined the status of the recipient. Let us return to Pliny's *Panegyricus*, and the praise for Trajan's inclusion of *alimenta* for children in the *congiaria* at Rome (*Panegyricus* 26.3).

> ... you gave orders that every child must be admitted and enrolled before seeing or approaching you, so that henceforward reared on your bounty from their earliest days, all should know you as the Father of the people (*parentem publicum*); they should grow at your expense while they were growing up to serve you, pass from a child allowance at your hands (*alimentisque tuis*) to a soldier's pay, each owing as much to you as to his parents.

The imperial benevolence is large and long-lasting. It deserves gratitude, and the obedience owed by children and soldiers. The emperor is a parent for all citizens, and they owe him fitting gratitude and obedience for what he gives from his private fortune. In Ameria, the recipients of the *alimenta* style themselves *pueri puellaeque Ulpiani* (*CIL* XI 4351), the emperor's children.[113] The use of the parental metaphor is not unique to Roman emperors. Cities in Greece and Rome were viewed as families, and their magistrates as fathers.[114] It is used to describe an increasingly hierarchical relation between ruler and ruled. When citizens in Italy needed to be reassured of their status at a time when the emperor himself was perhaps not quite Italian anymore, they received *alimenta* as new *beneficia*. The form of these *beneficia* reveals the new *officia* of deference to the emperor.

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[112] Currie (1996) 178.

[113] Other examples of children (*pueri et puellae alimentari, vel sim.*) honouring the emperor include *CIL* IX 5700 (AD 149, Cupra Montana), XI 5956-57 (AD 139 and 149/150, Pitinum Mergens?), XI 6002 (again under Antoninus Pius, Sestinum), XIV 4003 (AD 162, Ficulea) and—probably—XI 5989 (AD 137, Tifernum Mataurense). Duncan-Jones (1982) 319, for literary examples. Antoninus Pius is prominent in both groups of data.

[114] Stevenson (1992); Pleket (1998).

Andreas Alföldi has argued that the title *parens patriae* is rooted in old Roman ideas of the military saviour (*servator*) of the state.[115] In that sense the juxtaposed portrayal of citizens as children and soldiers is fitting. The title *parens patriae* became the core of Caesar's conception of monarchy, Alföldi argues. From Augustus onwards, an emperor was not only *Divi filius*, but invariably *pater patriae*, father of the fatherland. Ideologically, it rooted imperial power in the *patria potestas*. "The inscription [on the arch of Beneventum] encouraged adult viewers to identify with the children to the extent that they were metaphorical children of Trajan the father of the country. ... Adults were metaphorical children of the emperor and children were metaphorical citizens."[116] That metaphor, however did not only apply to the art of the arch of Beneventum. It also applied to the *alimenta* themselves. By ostensibly targeting children as the recipients of his benefactions, the emperor proved himself to be a true *pater patriae*, deserving of citizens' obedience. No doubt some of the loyalty towards the state was due to force, and some of it was due to symbolic persuasion such as in the imperial cult. Much of it was, however, due to real benefits to its citizens. Symbols can be all the more powerful if backed up by and linked to real benefits.

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[115] Alföldi (1992); Stevenson (1992).

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TEXTILE MANUFACTURING FOR A RELIGIOUS MARKET. ARTEMIS AND DIANA AS TYCOONS OF INDUSTRY[1]

Marc Kleijwegt

Epigraphy and the ancient economy have always been two of the most cherished interests of Harry Pleket. This is most readily evidenced in one of his early publications, a collection of Greek epigraphical texts with relevance to the study of the ancient economy.[2] Furthermore, his numerous comments on Greek inscriptions in the new style *SEG* (appearing since 1978) provide a running commentary on his belief that the study of inscriptions should start from a broad understanding of their value towards the socio-economic history of the ancient world. This chapter aims to discuss the role of the textile industry through the lens of a couple of epigraphic texts.[3] The textile industry is considered by many to be the most significant industrial sector of any preindustrial economy,

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[1] The debts I have incurred in writing this study are many. I would like to acknowledge especially the assistance and criticism I have received from Henk Versnel, Luuk de Ligt, Huib Lirb, Herman Roozenbeek, Onno van Nijf and Riet van Bremen. Some of them will have difficulty in recognizing the present publication from the haphazard, primitive version which they commented upon. Let them rest assured that the improvements, if any, are mainly due to their acute criticism. This does not mean that they will always agree with the more speculative parts of my argument. At an early stage of my research Henk Versnel put at my disposal the evidence he had collected on clothes and the bathing of statues, for which I am grateful. An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the Leicester School for Archaeological Studies in May 1996. I would like to extend my gratitude to the members of the School, in particular my host David Mattingly, and to the audience for a very lively and interesting discussion. A special word of thanks should be extended to my former colleague at UNISA, Richard J. Evans, for improving the English of an earlier draft.

[2] Pleket (1964).

[3] The basic idea behind my investigation is to look for a market and occasions for which specified clothes had to be worn. Debord (1982), a comprehensive study of the economics of cult with much attention to detail, only discusses clothes found in temple inventories. Strictly speaking, these items are not economic objects. Although they represent a certain value, they were not acquired by the temple through an economic transaction, and, as some temple inventories indicate, clothes were kept in the possession of the temple even when they had been reduced to a state of useless rags, and, once donated, did not enter the economy again.

including that of the Roman Empire,[4] and to the study of which Pleket himself has made a number of valuable contributions.[5] In the first part of this chapter I shall briefly review past and current research on the subject. I shall outline two basic flaws which have turned research in this field into a debate between different schools of thought firmly entrenched within their own theoretical groundings. In the main body I shall argue that there existed in the ancient world a significant market in textiles used in religious contexts and that clothes used by worshippers and initiandi were produced by workers attached to major sanctuaries. However, the purpose of this investigation goes beyond a discussion of material ignored, for whatever reason, by historians of the ancient economy. By focusing on a market generated by religious customers I hope to add to a better appreciation of the diversity in the ancient demand for textiles, and to suggest possible implications for the scope of the textile industry as a whole.

1. *The textile industry: evidence and models*

Ancient evidence for the textile industry is fragmented and therefore woefully inadequate for making a sound assessment of its importance to the ancient economy. References taken from literature, epigraphy, archaeology and iconography, either on their own or in combination, rarely produce a reliable tableau from which we can make an estimate about the success of the industry in individual cities, let alone map its rise and decline over more extended territory. The literary evidence is particularly unhelpful. References to clothes appear in a wide variety of genres, from epigram to the writings of the agronomists and works of encyclopedic knowledge. Several cities stand out as centres of production for an export market, but not a single item is quantifiable or leads to a more precise insight into the scope and importance of the industry as a whole. Inscriptions would appear to offer a more promising perspective, especially because they cover a wide range of professions and mention traders in specialized products. However, they are the result of chance survival and are often silent on the broad framework in which

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[4] It is assumed that the textile industry employed the largest part of the non-agricultural labour force, cf. Aubert (1994) 203.

[5] Cf. Pleket (1988); (1990b); (1998).

they have to be inserted. Moreover, the number of inscriptions attesting to textile manufacture or to traders in the finished products from the major production centres is relatively small. The evidence is certainly not sufficient to confirm claims made on the basis of the literary evidence that such-and-such a city was an international export centre. Let me illustrate this state of affairs with reference to a single city.

Canusium in Apulia had a shining reputation as a major centre of production for medium-priced[6] woollen textiles (cf. e.g. Mart. 14,129: *paenulae Canusinae*, a type of heavy cloak frequently associated with people working outdoors, such as slaves and soldiers), yet this impression is mainly based on references in the literary sources.[7] Tanks, presumed to have been used for cleaning and fulling operations, have been identified on the outskirts of the urban area along the river (where one expects to find them; see below at note 95), but from the city itself there is very little evidence attesting to the presence of the industry.[8] It might still be possible, however, to say something about the commercial appeal of her products. Besides the evidence from Martial and other writers on the availability of Canusian cloaks in Rome, a trader in cloaks, possibly from Canusium (*sagarius ex Apulia*), has been attested in Milan (*CIL* V, 5925). This text provides significant evidence that Canusian cloaks were sold in areas as far away as northern Italy, but what does this trader's presence signify in terms of trade routes and markets? After a more detailed scrutiny of the evidence from Milan itself, confusion sets in. What sort of economic role did Milan play: was it a production centre, a centre of consumption or a strategically located distribution centre, or all three at the same time? The city may have had a textile industry of her own, possibly in linen (linen-weavers in *CIL* V, 5923),

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[6] In the Prices Edict (*PE* 19,50) first class hooded cloaks from Canusium are tariffed at 4,000 den., much lower than Noric or Ripesian ones (8,000 den.); the high end of the market appears to have been cloaks from Laodicea in the style of Nervian cloaks, tariffed at 10,000 den., and Nervian themselves at 15,000 (19,44). The chapter numbers and their subdivisions used here are based on the consolidated edition of the text by Giacchero (1974).

[7] See the discussion of Mart. XIV, 127 and 129 in Leary (1996) with further references and bibliographical details.

[8] Grelle (1993) 92. The standard corpus by Chelotti et al. (1990) mentions one *textor* (*ERC* I, 196, cf. *ERC* II, 196 A) and one *lanipendia* (*ERC* I, 170). The latter is a slave who may have worked on one of the imperial estates in the region.

but perhaps also in wool.[9] We also know of a *sagarius Mediolanensis* operating in the south of Italy, near Macerata (*CIL* IX, 5752), and even though it is not stated that the cloaks themselves were produced in Milan, the possibility cannot be dismissed entirely.[10] However, it is more likely that we are dealing here with a merchant who had travelled to southern Italy to buy a finished product. In Milan we also come across a trader in cloaks from the tribe of the Mediomatrici (Metz), another famous centre of production (*CIL* V, 5929). Milan could have been an important distribution centre since it commanded the northern trade route through Comum and the roads leading to Ravenna and Genoa.[11] However, traders in textiles from famous production centres in northern Italy, such as Patavium (Padua), are conspicuous by their absence. It may thus be incorrect to force all the evidence into a single interpretive framework, for we clearly do not possess the complete picture, while the inscriptions come from different periods and thus may not reflect the situation at the same point in time.

Two other sources of information furnish their own specific problems of interpretation: archaeology and the Prices Edict of Diocletian. The discovery of loom-weights and fragments of ancient textiles, in combination with the detailed study of the available literary and pictorial evidence, has vastly improved our knowledge of the technical aspects of the industry. The work of Blümner done at the beginning of this century was in many respects ground-breaking,[12] but much of our knowledge has only been firmly established by Wild who introduced a strikingly comparative perspective by drawing on information from contemporary 'primitive' societies for which an exact knowledge of these aspects is still available.[13] However, this type of research has not enhanced our knowledge of the economic significance of the industry in the ancient world, and, due to its comparative character, may have unwittingly

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[9] The idea that Milan may also have had a wool industry of her own is suggested by the fact that in the late Empire a wool factory was located there, cf. Garnsey (1976) 19. It is incorrect, however, to assume, as Garnsey does on the same page, that the presence of traders in woollen goods (notably from Gallia Belgica and Apulia, two centres of production!) is evidence for a textile industry in Milan.

[10] The trader in question is called C. Lucilius Charinus and he was also a *sevir* at Milan. The family of the Lucilii has been attested in two other inscriptions from Milan (*CIL* V, 6033; 6034).

[11] Frank (1959), vol. V, 110; Frayn (1993) 58.

[12] Blümner (1969).

[13] Wild (1970).

entrenched more firmly the idea of the backwardness of the ancient economy. The study of textile workshops would appear to provide the most direct evidence for the scale of the industry, but the identification of workshops is in itself a major problem, not to mention the decipherment of the economic context in which they find their proper place. This area of study has only created further confusion between the material evidence that is available and the information that it has been assumed to supply (see below).

The towering document known as the Prices Edict is the most eloquent testimony of the high level of variety the ancient textile industry achieved. Issued late in 301 by the emperor Diocletian, it presents a long list of maximum prices for a broad range of commodities including pieces of clothing and raw materials used in the clothing industry.[14] Yet its possible flaws as a source for the economic history of the Roman Empire have to be noted before we can begin to make sense of it. The long preamble (almost two-thirds of the surviving text) contrasts, in highly emotive language, the political and military stability with the economic woes from which the empire is suffering. Greed and avarice are the most important vices which the edict seeks to eradicate. The compilers of the business section—the list of maximum prices for various products—were most likely state officials. The bureaucratic origins of the document, and the fact that its compilers may have been dependent on information which was unreliable and out of date, necessarily affect its accuracy. In a recent discussion it has been argued that the idea behind the edict may have been conceived at Antioch and that the setting up of a tariff-list might well reflect local conditions.[15] Three factors would support such a view. Firstly, the preamble pays considerable attention to the plight of soldiers whose salaries and donatives are eaten away in a single purchase (*PE* 92-100). The support of the army formed an important part of the ideology of the tetrarchs and it is to be noted that soldiers had easy access to their emperor.[16] Secondly, it is reasonable to assume that residence at Antioch by the emperor together with a considerable entourage of bureaucrats and soldiers may unwittingly have contributed to the economic problems

[14] A good survey of the information contained in the individual chapters of the document can be found in Giacchero (1987).
[15] Corcoran (1996) 221.
[16] Corcoran (1996) 211-2.

which the edict sought to combat.[17] A contemporary author, Lactantius, criticizes Diocletian along these very lines and the parallel of Julian's stay at Antioch some sixty years later, which produced similar problems, is instructive. Thirdly, Julian's visit also offers the parallel of consultation with local traders before a control of prices was promulgated. While the edict may have been influenced by eastern circumstances, its promulagation may also have been largely restricted to that part of the empire. Copies or fragments have been discovered in forty different locations, and with one exception all of them come from the east. The exception, a fragment of the text found in Pettorano in Italy, is suspect for it is in Greek and may have been transported from Achaea. With support from the circumstances surrounding the Persecutions Edict, which was not actively enforced in the west, Corcoran is able to argue that it is very unlikely that the Prices Edict was ever effectively promulgated there.[18]

In sum, once its limitations have been taken into consideration the Prices Edict is a valuable source for economic history. It puts into clearer perspective some evidence that was already available from other sources and it offers some striking new information. Especially significant is its detailed distinction between various classes of quality for which different levels of prices are set. It is slightly puzzling, however, to note that as far as textiles are concerned the subdivisions consistently refer to first, second and third class products. What is downright remarkable is that the compilers have also included the low end of the market and have applied the same system of quality distinctions to coarser clothing (*ad usum rusticorum vel familiaricorum*; for example *PE* 31,69; 75 etc. for linen dalmatics). This sytematization of the market may of course be simply a reflection of bureaucratic thinking. However, if scholars are correct in assuming that the data included in the edict go back to a mixture of previous state records and information acquired from traders at Antioch, it may be excellent proof of a variety of the market which can hardly be fathomed in much detail from any other source. The information gathered in the edict, and especially the way in which it is presented, may imply not only that at the low end of the market there were a vast number of production cities, but also that there was structural trade over

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[17] Corcoran (1996) 219.
[18] Corcoran (1996) 231; contra Giacchero (1987) 121.

considerable distance in items produced there. It is true, no cities are specifically mentioned as production centres, but it seems wildly unrealistic to assume that all items in these categories were produced at Antioch.

That the fragmentary and often uncommunicative state of the ancient evidence induced some spectacular misconceptions can be illustrated from the debate on the textile industry in Pompeii. In an ambitious study W. Moeller argued that Pompeii was a major centre of textile production, the output of which was destined to reach the markets of the capital.[19] Although Moeller was quite correct in identifying the city of Rome with its population of close to one million inhabitants and with no noted textile industry of her own as a major factor in the area of demand for low cost clothing, he was less circumspect in his interpretation of the local evidence. The 'hard evidence' for his theory was provided by graffiti, frescoes and loom-weights, all of which are open to more than one interpretation, and the same evidence was used for a roller-coaster theory on the number of people employed, the volume of the output, and the manufacturing of an export industry. His thesis was calmly and systematically demolished by Wim Jongman.[20]

The outcome of this debate was that Pompeii was no longer regarded as a possible 'producer' city, and the verdict of a consumer city has stood since then. What is remarkable, however, and contrary, I think, to the expectations and express wishes of the protagonists, is that the discussion has created no resurgence of an interest in the textile industry. In recent years the number of regional studies has increased at a steady pace,[21] but so far none of them have commanded major attention from students of the ancient economy.[22] It must be said that some of these studies do not inspire great confidence in their potential for offering a firm basis for the reassessment of the textile industry. They usually offer a collection of evidence, mainly epigraphical, which is then embedded in

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[19] Moeller (1976).

[20] Jongman (1988a) 155-86. A similar attempt at deconstruction in the case of Tarentum (Morel [1978]) has now come under renewed scrutiny by Mele (1997).

[21] Schwinden (1989); Giovannini (1993); Vicari (1994); Deniaux (1995); Coarelli (1996).

[22] The conference on aspects of textile manufacturing in the Mediterranean world recently organised by J.-C. Goyon and M. Th. Le Dinahet does not deal with the economic importance of the industry.

vague terminology,[23] the same flaws against which Finley argued so fervently.[24] It appears, therefore, as if no progress has been made at all. This is partly due, I believe, to the stifling effects of model-building which became fashionable in the seventies and eighties. After the publication of Moses Finley's *The Ancient Economy* in 1973 a comparative approach became almost a prerequisite for the study of the ancient economy. The comparative framework is a salutary one for it forces historians to look beyond the boundaries of the ancient world and to make the use of comparisons an explicit part of their approach. However, by positioning his arguments in a broader context Finley's work has stimulated a debate which was mainly informed by the strict parameters of Weber and Polanyi, something which may have harmed an objective approach to the textile industry in the ancient world.[25] It is evident that Weber's producer city was a producer of (luxury) textiles for an international market and that the late medieval cities in Flanders, France and northern Italy became the ideal types against which similar cities in the ancient world were to be measured.[26]

Finley's sections dealing with the textile industry in the ancient world are firmly cast in the form of a comparison with later preindustrial economies, a comparison that without exception produces a negative evaluation of the ancient economy. Finley consistently emphasizes what the ancient textile industry was lacking in,[27] without, however, telling us that the evidence for it is essentially different and significantly more

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[23] Cf. Vicari (1994) 239, note 2: "[l]a produzione tessile aveva un ruolo di notevole importanza nell' economia romana..."

[24] Finley (1985) 33.

[25] The influence of Finley (1973) set the tone for a discussion of Weberian ideal types and dominated later analyses: Bruhns (1985) and Bruhns and Nippel (1987-9). More recently the debate has been reinvigorated somewhat by Engels' (1990) introduction of the alternative model of the service-city, but cf. Whittaker (1990) and (1993a), who still considers the consumer city to be the best workable model for the ancient city. In the atypical case of Rome, the capital of an imperialistic state, the parasitical element of the megalopolis clouds most of the debate on the average Greco-Roman city; cf. Pleket 1993 who finds the condemnation of Rome as a parasitical city much too gloomy: "Rome did not live on the dole, financed by heavily taxed subjects" (18). He proceeds to argue that towns in Roman Italy were economically activated by the huge Roman demands for food, clothes and wine. In other words, parasitism and economic stimulation went hand in hand. Cf. Wrigley (1990) for a similar role postulated for London in the seventeenth century.

[26] The most explicit statements on this matter can be found in Jongman (1988a) 59; 156.

[27] Cf. the criticism on this point by Pleket (1990b) 34 ff.

fragmented than that for later periods. It is telling that he substantiated his arguments with evidence from only one city which had a reputation as an exporter of textiles.[28] He commented first of all on the absence of highly prominent architectural structures, such as guild halls, which to him signified the lack of public importance of the industry. It is impossible to quibble with this observation as such, but one may justifiably wonder whether this is a fruitful starting-point for an investigation. The absence of guild halls hides a deeper truth, that commercial enterprises were deemed not respectable by the elite. It must surely be understood that guild halls were expressions of the entrepreneurial spirit, not assembly halls for artisans. Subsequently he remarked on the low social status of labourers and traders involved in the sector. In the latter case Finley's arguments are strangely flawed, for two reasons. First of all, he explicitly compared the linen-weavers from Tarsus, who in his reading of Dio Chrystostom's speech (*Or.* 34.21-23) were too poor to gain access to the citizen assembly, with the clothmakers of Flanders who not only had no difficulty in meeting the financial charges of citizenship but were in fact an integral section of the ruling oligarchies.[29] It is evident that in no city in Flanders did weavers belong 'en masse' to the ruling oligarchy. That privilege was limited to a select group of entrepreneurs who had amassed vast amounts of wealth through ownership of workshops.[30] Secondly, as has become generally accepted by now, Dio does not claim that there was a property qualification for the citizenship in Tarsus. He merely states that Tarsian citizenship was sold to foreigners at a price of 500 drachmas,[31] a common practice in the cities of Asia Minor.

The main problem is that in the most authoritative dicussions of the textile-industry (Finley; Pleket; Jongman) a comparison is drawn between a society in which even the basic evidence is liable to misinterpretation with a society for which documentary evidence, supplying figures for output, export and import, is available in

[28] Finley (1985) 136-7; on Tarsus.
[29] Finley (1985) 140.
[30] Cf. van Nijf (1997) 19.
[31] As argued by Sartre (1991) 128-9; Quass (1993) 355-6; Van Nijf (1997) 19; the idea is already anticipated by Welles (1962) 74. Finley seems to have based his remark on Jones (1979) 174. The same idea can be found in C.P. Jones's monograph on the Roman world of Dio, (1978) 80-1.

abundance. For some late medieval cities in Flanders and Italy, for instance, we have at our disposal reliable information on how many people were employed in the industry,[32] how it was organized, and who took the major share of the profits. Moreover, tax and customs documents inform us on how much foreign cloth was imported, while inventories of private households give details as to how many items of clothing an individual possessed. As long as we have no statistical information, gathered for a number of consecutive years, to tell us, for example, how many carpets and cloaks were exported to Rome by the textile manufacturers of Patavium, the issue of her economic status will not be fully resolved. The essential evidence is once again of a literary nature (Strabo 5.1.7; 12), and the epigraphic evidence, as was the case for Canusium, practically non-existent.[33] Where Finley chooses to be vague about the scale of the exports and stresses the limited period of time to which the evidence relates,[34] Pleket argues in a much more optimistic tone. In his opinion Patavium was a prosperous community (adducing Strabo's remark that in a recent census the city was shown to have more than 500 people possessing an equestrian fortune) and he offers the suggestion that some members of the local elite may have derived financial benefits from their involvement in the manufacture of textiles. To him, therefore, Patavium was not unlike a producer city in the Weberian sense.[35] The case is illustrative of the ease with which a limited amount of evidence can be pushed in opposite directions, depending on the theoretical framework which has been adopted. Although *grosso modo* I find Pleket's position more attractive, there is no way of proving that he is correct.

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[32] See the useful summary of the relevant data in Jongman (1988a) 162.

[33] Pleket (1990b) 125, argues that the absence of epigraphic testimonia on textile workers is an indication of their poverty, and not of their non-existence. In other words, Pleket positions his argument in such a manner so as to make a convincing case for the existence of a textile industry in Patavium. While we are still at the stage of trying to prove that there was an industry, even in a case which the literary sources qualify as a producer city, there is hardly any reason for optimism about ever being able to come to terms with the more important details, the industry's organization and its significance. These remarks must obviously be seen in the light of the direct comparisons that have been made with the situation in the late medieval world. The deficiencies of the evidence should be made explicit before we can make any progress.

[34] Finley (1985) 137.

[35] Pleket (1990b) 125.

Finley's dismissal of the importance of the ancient textile industry has not led to any open challenges of his views so far, although some scholars have taken a more positive view of the scope of the industry and the wealth of individual traders.[36] The perception remains, however, that in Antiquity there was an underdeveloped economy lacking an integrated market system and with high transportation costs which necessarily reduced the level of economic activity,[37] whereas scholars assume a world of nascent capitalism in late medieval cities.[38] The difference between the two societies may be one of social structure rather than one of quantitative disproportion in the volume of trade.[39] Agents in trade in Antiquity were 'small fry,' but it might be misleading to draw the conclusion that the volume of trade was equally low, because we are uncertain of how much trade was actually controlled by the upper classes.[40]

It has to be stressed that for the ancient world we have no direct evidence for the organisation of the manufacturing of textiles, but it can by no means be excluded that it resembled the framework which can be observed for the late medieval world.[41] Its outline is obscured by the low esteem in which commercial affairs were generally held by the elite, who preferred to work through agents, and by the urgency to transfer commercial profits into more respectable avenues for investment.

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[36] Pleket (1990b) 129: "Dies dürfte alles in allem wohl zum Schlussfolgerung berechtigen, daß es in einer Reihe grosser, exportorientierten Tuchweberstädte ein vermögendes Bürgertum von Tuchhändlern gab, die sich gut mit ihren späteren Kollegen des Mittelalters vergleichen lassen." However, it is also clear that in the Middle Ages the biggest share of the profits went to entrepreneurs, not to traders.

[37] The factor of transport costs, and especially the inhibitive expensiveness of transport over land, has long been a standard element in discussions on the ancient economy. Recently, however, the evidence has been drastically corrected: Polfer (1991); Laurence (1998).

[38] Note, however, that there is still an ongoing debate with regard to the character of medieval cities in Italy as to whether they present a continuation of or a breaking away from Antiquity. For a negation of 'capitalism' in late medieval Italy see Philip Jones (1978); for a concise discussion of views and problems see Wrigley (1991).

[39] Pleket (1990b) 124.

[40] Cf. the discussion in D'Arms (1977). The modern discussion tends to focus on the use by the elite of slaves and freedmen as 'middlemen' in commercial dealings, cf. D'Arms (1981), but note Garnsey (1981), who warns against viewing elite involvement behind every freedman trader or artisan. For involvement in the economy by members of the elite in the Greek part of the Roman Empire see Pleket (1983); (1984).

[41] Cf. the interesting article by Mehl (1997), who argues on the basis of careful examination of the funerary pillar of the Secundinii from Trier that they employed some form of putting-out system.

Evidence for elite ownership of textile workshops, as for example in the case of Cicero's father,[42] is difficult to uncover because we only get to hear of it in the form of anecdotal evidence with a strongly pejorative emphasis.[43] Students have carefully assembled what little evidence there is for ownership of textile workshops, among which the famous case of the grammarian Remmius Palaemon has evoked some special interest.[44] It is pertinent, however, to stress the limitations of the source-material. Ownership of factories for prêt-à-porter clothes (*officinas promercalium vestium exerceret*; Suet. *De gramm.* 23.6) allegedly provided him with an annual income, which, together with other business ventures (most notably in viticulture), earned him about as much as he made from his teaching, which is given by Suetonius as HS 400,000 p.a. The latter figure is in itself suspect, for the amount is a standard one suggesting middling wealth, as it is the equivalent of an equestrian fortune.[45] The phrase which introduces Palaemon's commercial profits (*ac non multo minus ex re familiari*) cannot be used as a secure indication of his income. Pliny the Elder reports that his vineyards were so productive that in one year he was able to sell the crop, still hanging on the vine, for HS 400,000 (*HN* 14.50). This seems to cancel out any profits from his textile factories. It is obvious, however, that Suetonius was not interested in presenting an accurate record of Palaemon's financial income. The

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[42] Coarelli (1996).

[43] The slur of being the son of a fuller was used as a resounding insult against Cicero: "Certainly neither family nor wealth was bequeathed to him by his father, the fuller, who was always trading in grapes and olives, a fellow who was glad enough to support himself by this and his wash-tubs, who every day and every night defiled himself with the foulest filth. The son, reared amid these surroundings, not unnaturally tramples and souses his superiors, using a species of abuse practised in the workshops and on the street corners" (Dio Cass. 46.4.2-3; trans. Loeb). As to the possible truth about Cicero's father's involvement in the textile industry, cf. Wiseman (1985) 102 with note 33. Wiseman refers to *CIL* X, 5678, a slave of a L. Tullius in the Arpinum woolworkers' guild. For a more extensive discussion of the evidence, cf. Coarelli 1996, esp. 201. Coarelli suggests that Cicero's father was the owner of *fullonicae* in Arpinum and adduces the evidence of Cicero's mother Helvia who may have come from Fregellae, itself a well-known centre of textile manufacturing in the second century BC.

[44] Cf. Morel (1985) 97, who mentions him in his catalogue of "capitaines d'industrie"; Pleket (1990b) 124, argues that Palaemon made a fortune from his textile workshops. Cf. Kaster (1995) 239, for a more moderate assessment.

[45] Scheidel (1996) 224; 227. The reliability of figures transmitted in the literary sources has been studied by a number of scholars, among whom Duncan-Jones (1982) 238-59 (the use of prices in the Latin novel) and Scheidel (1996) are the most informative.

important point he is trying to make is that for all his wealth Palaemon was not able to observe financial discipline: *nec sufficeret sumptibus quamquam ex schola quadringena annua caperet* etc. (*De gramm.* 23.5). In this respect it is important to note that Palaemon was a freedman, who, in his personal lifestyle, coupled arrogance and a taste for luxury with dubious sexual practices.[46]

The upshot of these observations is that, induced by the fragmented state of the evidence and inspired by a theoretical framework that has privileged late medieval producer cities as the *sine qua non* of commercial textile manufacturing, the gap between the ancient world and later preindustrial societies has been overestimated. It is worth pointing out to ancient historians that the picture of the textile industry in the Middle Ages may be based on the privileging of the most accessible sources. In a study of the textile industry in late medieval Sicily Stephan Epstein has drawn attention to an important methodological problem. Luxury clothes leave more traces in the sources (harbour dues, tax scrolls, import registers), whereas catering for local demand, involving transport over short distances within the same region, is almost impossible to trace. Epstein argued that by focusing exclusively on luxury clothes an inaccurate picture has been created.[47] There is no doubt that only a few cities in the Roman Empire specialized in high quality clothes for the luxury market: Tyre, Tarsus, Laodicea, Scythopolis and Canusium. Mid-priced clothes were probably produced in more centres and the production of low quality textiles for the "use of common people and slaves" was widespread.[48] The important question that we have to ask is not whether 'producer cities' in the ancient world were exceptional or not, but whether Ghent and its like were actually exceptional. Ghent must have produced for the local market as well (as was the case for its ancient counterparts), and, moreover, not all textile centres in the medieval world would have produced luxury goods for international export.[49]

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[46] For Palaemon's sexual tastes see Baldwin (1995).

[47] Epstein (1989) 143: "(....) a purely positivistic approach to the documents inevitably concludes (....) that consumption of foreign cloth was more important than local manufacture, simply because trade in foreign cloth looms so large in the existing evidence."

[48] My argument here is based on Jones (1974) 355.

[49] Note, however, Chorley (1987), who argues that producer cities in Flanders and northern France also exported cheaper varieties of cloth over long distances. The

What is required is a more flexible approach towards the ancient textile industry, one that is more detached from the ideological constraints imposed by the model used thus far. Discussing production for the market does not really help us in coming to terms with its scope, unless we can be certain as to how big the commercial market was, and how much of production was done in households for private consumption.[50] By focusing on the consumption of textiles rather than on the production side I hope to be able to reach a more balanced evaluation of the scope of the industry. This is done in the full realization that no exact figures can be arrived at. On the qualitative side, however, it is important to make the specific functions of clothes part of our investigation, something which so far has been left to the separate dicipline of art history. More important than the fact that individuals were likely to purchase at least one garment in their life time is the fact that on average he or she was expected to have different sets of garments for a wide range of public occasions.[51] I will assume that the obligatory wearing of

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advantages of these cities, Chorley claims (368-9), lay not in their privileged access to top quality English wools, but (for their cheaper varieties) to cheap, middle-grade, locally produced wools, such as were not available to the north Italian or Languedoc industries at the time. His conclusion that northern cloth was not confined to an exclusive public is interesting, with evidence coming from Aragon, Orvieto, the Languedoc and Nuremberg, but, as he himself indicates (371), the evidence is exiguous. No comparison is made between the volume of imported cloths and locally produced ones.

[50] Cf. the views of Garnsey and Saller (1987) 50-1. There are some indications to suggest that poor farmers may occasionally have bought their own clothes, but the evidence is thin: Jones (1974) 352. On the self-sufficient peasant as a myth, cf. Paterson (1998). Pleket (1988) 31 with note 19, and (1990b) 128, has further emphasized the possible importance of dealers in second-hand clothes to cater for lower-class incomes, but the exact meaning of the technical terms for this profession has to be clarified first. For example, Pleket refers to *vestiarii tenuarii* as dealers in second-hand clothes, whereas Joshel (1992) 107-8; 138-9 describes them as tailors in fine clothing. Professional menders of clothes (*sarcinatrices* or *sarcinatores*) also have to be taken into consideration, cf. Joshel (1992) 103; 106.

[51] In the Roman world people had to wear the *toga* at political meetings of the assembly and while attending the games. In the latter case only the poor people were allowed to wear black, but they had to sit in the uppermost seats, cf. Suet. *Aug*. 44.2; Calp. Sic. 7.26-7 and 79 f. and the discussion in Ville (1981) 439-41. A story from the reign of Trajan mentions a prefect of Egypt who is accused of having killed a man in the theatre of Alexandria for not wearing white garments; the story is quoted in Rawson (1991) 521. Whether this actually implies that some people who were too poor to buy a decent set of clothes were in an underprivileged position with regard to political and religious participation is a problem that cannot be addressed here. For the obligatory wearing of the *toga* and its possible inhibition on participation in public assemblies, cf. the remarks in Jongman (1988a) 290, note 2. For specific clothes of mourning worn by

specific clothes created a more diversified market and a relatively certified demand. In the following pages this inference will be tested for religious festivals and visits to temples.

2. *The Role of Sanctuaries in the Ancient Economy*

The movements of income and expenditure of sanctuaries have aroused considerable interest from scholars. The evidence is almost entirely epigraphical and consists of, inter alia, accounts, inventories, leases and dues. Consequently studies have mainly focussed on economic assets in the possession of cults, such as estates and cattle.[52] In this sector, it must be concluded, the cult acted no differently—in economic terms—from an individual estate owner or the polis, that is: the assets were used to secure income to cover expenses, not to increase productivity.[53] However, these possessions are only the most visible signs of the economic role performed by temples. To reveal their full impact on the economy a separate framework has to be created and different questions have to be asked. What sort of economic transactions were made possible by the cultic presence which would not have occurred if it had been absent from the city's territory?[54] In order to answer this question with some degree of success, one has to turn to documentary evidence that is not immediately concerned with the economic importance of certain items.

In general, the economics of cult share the overall limitations of economic thinking in the ancient world. One may be able to detect an awareness of the economic spin-offs of the religious arsenal, but a conscious formulation of the utility of assets (passive and active) to

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the entire population of a city, in this case on the death of a member of the imperial family, cf. *CIL* XI, 1421=*ILS*, 140 (Pisa): *pro ma[g]nitudine tantae ac iam inprovisae calamitatis oportere ex ea die, qu[a ei]us deces<s>us nuntiatus esset usqu[e] ad eam diem qua ossa relata atque co[nd]ita iustaque eius manibus perfecta essent, cunctos veste mutata.*

52 For a good introductory survey, cf. Isager and Skydsgard (1992) 157-99, on Gods and Agriculture. Whether sanctuaries owned cattle of their own is still a hotly debated issue. No attempt at generalization can be made here. Isager (1992) has claimed that 'sacred cattle' delineates cattle grazing on sacred land.

53 Finley (1985) 114-5.

54 In a valuable note Linders (1992) has drawn attention to the same configuration, without, however, indicating how we should approach this problem as far as scale and impact on the ancient economy are concerned.

maximize efficiency and profits is lacking. In religious ideology the economic benefits that resulted from a cult's popularity are never defined explicitly. This mental gap is perfectly illustrated in a second-century AD inscription from Ephesus:

> Since the goddess Artemis, mistress of our city, is honoured not only in her homeland, which she has made the most illustrious of all cities through her own divine nature, but also among Greeks and also barbarians, the result is that everywhere her shrines and sanctuaries have been established, and temples have been founded for her and altars dedicated to her because of the visible manifestations effected by her.[55]

The document exemplifies, in almost imperialistic language, the importance of Artemis to the shaping of a collective identity at Ephesus. Indeed, Artemis' cultic identity unobtrusively screens out her other functions: her role as capital of the Roman province of Asia and her position as one of main the centres of the imperial cult.[56] Although one might suspect an awareness of economic profits accruing from the world-wide stature of Artemis Ephesia, to the composers of this document it was her religious power that was of paramount importance. The reality was different. Strabo called the city of Ephesus the most important trading-centre west of the Taurus-mountains (14.1.24), and her main temple was an important force in the economic life of the city and of the provice of Asia. There is no doubt that the temple was one of the wealthiest in the ancient world. Several ancient sources refer to her important function as a bank, first of all as a deposit bank, and, secondly, as a lender of money.[57] The temple's other economic assets came from a number of sources, including landed estates,[58] ponds, the island where sacred deer were kept, and the herds belonging to the cult.[59] But Artemis' role in the Ephesian economy went far beyond the possession of land and cattle. Several groups of Ephesian manufacturers can be identified who depended on the temple for their livelihood. The level of diversity and complexity in the relations between these artisans and the sanctuary may signify the extent of economic opportunities. Different forms of

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[55] *I. Ephesos* 24, discussed in Horsley (1987), no. 4, 74-82, translation and analysis by R. Oster. The quotation is from fragment B, lines 8-14.

[56] Friesen (1993).

[57] Oster (1990) 1717-8 with further bibliographical details.

[58] Knibbe, Meric and Merkelbach (1979).

[59] Oster (1990) 1719.

organization can be identified: workers employed directly by the temple[60] and independent entrepreneurs earning their livelihood because the temple was the focus of religious worship.[61] We find sellers of sacred wine who had their stalls at the 'Hallenstrasse' next to the theatre.[62] *I. Ephesos* 295 records the fact that privileges of the artisans of the temple have been renewed by the emperor Septimius Severus, most probably while he was on a visit to Ephesus. The text is fragmentary and does not specify the activities the workers were involved in (nor does it point out the privileges which they received), but line 2 clearly reads: ἐντὸς τῆς ναϊκῆς ἐργασίας. *I. Ephesos* 4102, from the third century BC, refers to a shop where incense could be bought. There is nothing to preclude the assumption that this shop (τὸ λιβανωτοπώλιον) was situated within the temple-complex, since the occasion for the erection of the stone was a new lease-arrangement, and both the neopoioi and the kouretes were involved in the renewal of the lease. This resembles the arrangements stipulated in an inscription from the Heraion on Samos.[63] Finally, *I. Ephesos* 3075 is an honorary inscription erected by the ναουργοὶ τέκτονες ('temple builders'/ carpenters') for their patron P. Vedius Antoninus, 'der Bauherr'.

In the inscription quoted above (*I. Ephesos* 24) the council and people proudly announce that the whole month of Artemision will be sacred and dedicated to the goddess. During this month there will be a plethora of sacrifices and festivals. Fragment C of the inscription is in fact a decree in honour of Titus Aelius Marcianus Priscus, the first Ephesian to take charge of the celebrations for the entire month. He had been president of

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60 A recently found inscription from Aizanoi (*MAMA* IX, 49) mentions a ὁμοτέχνια τῶν κηπουρῶν Στευνηνῶν. Κηπουροί may be interpreted as 'market-gardeners,' who produced flowers, plants and vegetables for the nearby urban market. Στεῦνος was the name of a cave near Aizanoi dedicated to the Meter. Pleket suggests that the 'gardeners' worked an estate belonging to the Meter Steunene and that they produced for the urban market to the benefit of the sacred treasury (*SEG* 40, 1187; with the commentary). There is no conclusive evidence to decide whether the 'gardeners' were in the employment of the temple or whether they were sacred slaves. For a new inscription mentioning market-gardeners from Thyateira, cf. Herrmann (1997).

61 The distinction is not easy to make. Demetrios of Acts seems to have been an independent entrepreneur, whereas the artisans mentioned in *I. Ephesos* 295 may have been workers directly employed by the cult.

62 Engelmann (1986).

63 *SEG* 27, 545; cf. Sokolowski (1978) and, in more detail, Soverini (1990-1991), cf. now also *SEG* 42, 777.

the athletic games and leader of the festival of the Great Artemisia.[64] From this last title (panegyriarch) it is to be inferred that a commercial market had been organized,[65] in addition to the usual spate of banquets, sacred processions and sacrifices.[66] No such market is mentioned here specifically, and no details are supplied, the result of the over-emphasis in the document on politico-religious ideology. Other sources indicate that a periodic market and religious celebrations were a frequent combination.[67]

Altogether, the presence of a religious 'arsenal' created a range of activities that were just as important to the local economy as they were to the religious calendar. It is difficult to ignore (although extremely difficult to quantify), for example, the profound effect sacrifice had on the scale of animal husbandry.[68] What is more, after the event of sacrifice meat was offered for sale[69] (presumably through butchers as middle-men).[70] The practice is illustrated in a famous passage from a letter by Pliny the Younger: "There is no doubt that people have begun to throng the temples which had been almost entirely deserted for a long time; the sacred rites which had been allowed to lapse are being performed again,

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[64] ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ πα[νηγυριάρχην]/ τῶν μεγάλων Ἀρτ[εμισίων].

[65] Robert's theory (1966, 24) that the word panegyris specifically refers to the economic aspect of the festival and that the panegyriarch was responsible for the market is rejected by De Ligt and De Neeve (1988) 393. However, the recently found inscription from Oinoanda spells out the 'profane' duties of the panegyriarch: Wörrle 1988. Among other things, he is responsible for the market, cf. De Ligt (1993b) 43-4.

[66] Cf. Oster, *New Documents* 4, 77.

[67] Cf. Dunand (1978) on the festival for Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia on the Meander; the economic aspects of festivals are discussed by De Ligt and De Neeve (1988).

[68] Debord (1982) 236: "Outre les cas que nous connaissons où le sanctuaire possède son propre bétail, il est assez clair que les sacrifices, surtout à l'occasion des principales cérémonies dans les grands sanctuaires, representaient un débouché essential pour l'élévage." *SEG* 45, 1508, from Bargylia, makes mention of oxen to be bred for an annual sacrificial ceremony in honour of Artemis Kindyas.

[69] Apart from the sale of sacrificial meat, sacrifices provided other ways of increasing the revenues of the temple or the city. First of all, some cults knew a tax on private sacrifices: Debord (1982) 195-6 with note 101. In the end the skins of the animals were also sold: see note 162 below.

[70] Cf. Jameson (1988) 88. On the vexed issue of whether women were excluded from the sacrificial meat see Osborne (1993). Previous scholars have seen in restricted female access to sacrifice in some cults a reflection of male political ideology. In combating this view Osborne offers the very instructive remark that "the understanding of the world which is reflected in the theology of sacrifice may be a domestic understanding of the world rather than a political one" (404).

and flesh of sacrificial animals is on sale everywhere though up till recently scarcely anyone could be found to buy it" (*Ep.* 10.96.10; trans. Loeb).[71] This arrangement may have provided one of the few opportunities the average citizen had of obtaining meat.[72] Furthermore, the popularity of a religious centre activated forms of artisanship catering for the huge numbers of religious tourists. One might think here of the story of the riot of the silversmiths in Ephesus during Paul's visit to the city[73]:

> About that time the Christian movement gave rise to a serious disturbance. There was a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith who made silver shrines of Artemis and provided a great deal of employment for the craftsmen. Those he called together with the other workmen of related occupations, and said, Men, you all know that from this business we have our wealth. And you see and hear that not only at Ephesus but almost throughout all of Asia this Paul has persuaded and turned away a considerable company of people, saying that gods made with hands are not gods. And there is danger not only that this trade of ours may come into disrepute but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis may count for nothing, and that she may even be deposed from her magnificence whom all Asia and the world worship. And when they heard these words, they were roused with fury, and shouted 'Great is Artemis of the Ephesians' (Acts 19, 23-8).

These examples are widely known, while the economic role of clothes used in a religious context has left fewer traces in our evidence. It is, therefore, less advantageous to build a case merely on the collecting of sparse material. We shall also have to proceed with our investigation on

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[71] *Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti passimque venire <carnem> victimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus inveniebatur.* In his commentary on this passage Sherwin-White (1966) 907, emphasizes the financial benefits of this arrangement accruing to the local priests, usually members of the elite: "(...) the interested parties are the civic priests or their agents and assistants, deprived of a lucrative privilege."

[72] Debord (1982) 236, calls the ancient world "une civilisation où la consommation de la viande en temps normal était assez limitée." Cf. Jameson (1988) 87: "The Greeks derived virtually all their meat (....) from the ritual of sacrifice." On the composition of the ancient diet and the relative unimportance of meat see Jongman (1988b) 210. For the metropolis of Rome, however, it is now understood that meat consumption was relatively common. Corbier (1989) argues that "la consommation de viande s'est....banalisée à Rome, au point de justifier un approvisionnement régulier." I have taken the quotation from Pleket (1993) 27.

[73] On this event and its tenor see Stoops, jr. (1989); for the significance of the silversmiths defending their economic interests see Van Nijf (1997) 15; 20; 238.

the basis of assumptions about the demand as a consequence of cultic requirements. Clothes played an important role in the worship of deities. They have been attested as votive gifts in temple inventories and as decoration for statues. In real economic terms the incentive that arose from these cultic requirements can only have been minimal. The number of items produced was small (although not negligible) and the weaving was done by (female) citizens out of personal or civic religiosity. Professional artisans may only have come in during the final stages of production. There is, however, another sector, involving a purely 'non-divine' market, that has so far escaped detailed scrutiny. A number of sacred laws stipulate the statutory wearing of clothes for worshippers. The religious apparel had to be of a certain uniform colour or within a certain price-bracket. I shall attempt to show that, induced by sacred laws and the specific circumstances in which these clothes had to be worn, the purchase of a 'religious uniform' sustained the creation of a strong market. Its importance, in my view, lies not so much in the value of these items, but in the number of purchasers and in the catering for a different consumer-market for special occasions.[74] The market for 'religious textiles,' as I see it, was partly generated by the inhabitants of the city where the cult was located. An additional demand, however, was created by 'foreign' visitors who came to attend the ceremonies. It is the presence of the second group that lifted production above the level of the local market. In the configuration of supply and demand the purchase of a 'religious uniform' designed an intermediate market, in between local consumption and foreign export.

3. *Textile workers of Diana/Artemis*

Point of departure for the remainder of the discussion will be two Latin inscriptions from Aricia (*AE* 1912, 92; *CIL* XIV, 2156)[75] and two Greek

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[74] Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 9.6 already refers to the woman's holiday finery and the man's holiday garb.

[75] *AE* 1912, 92: *Diis Manibus/L. Antonio Ionico/, sodali iuvenum/(quinquennali) colleg(ii) Mart(is) Salut(aris)/et quinq(uennali) colleg(ii) lot(orum)/ Nemorensium, <quinq>/Cornelia Thallusa/coniug(I) ben(e) mer(enti) f(ecit)/et sibi cum quo vix(it) a(nnis) XXX. CIL* XIV, 2156: *Dianae Aug(ustae)/colleg(ii) lotor(um) sacr(um)./ Primigenius r(ei) p(ublicae)/Aricinorum ser(vus) arc(arius)/curator II cum/M. Arrecino Gelliano,/filio, curatore II/d(edit) d(edicavit).*

inscriptions: one from Ephesus (*SEG* 34, 1124)[76] and the other from Gerasa (*SEG* 35, 1572).[77] All three cities were famous for their Diana/Artemis sanctuaries. Aricia and Ephesus obviously had the longest tradition, going back to, at least, the seventh or sixth centuries BC.[78] We are less well informed about the temple in Gerasa, but Artemis has been recognized as the patron god of the city.[79] The magnificent temple, rising above street level on a hill, was hidden from the pedestrians' view by splendid propylaea and only accessible through a series of steep staircases. The building dates from the end of the second century AD, although remains of an earlier, smaller, temple have been found on the same spot.[80] In Aricia the temple was set in the famous wood, which was also dedicated to Diana. In Ephesus the temple was outside the main (Hellenistic-Roman) city, but connected with it via a sacred road used for processions. The sanctuary of Artemis at Gerasa, however, was in the centre of town, next to the cardo and the northern decumanus. The setting of the temples will be of importance when we consider the connection between the temple and textile-workers and the availability of a water supply.

The technical terms used to describe the workers need some explanation. The job of the λευκαντής was to bleach the cloth,[81] whereas the term γναφεύς indicates what we call a fuller, a professional who cleaned the cloth by combing it and then cut it to the right size. The term *lotor* (=*lavator*, cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* sv) presents more

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[76] Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Φ(λ). Πε/ριγένους ἱερατευού/σης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς διὰ /βίου Βηδίας Παπιανῆς,/ γραμματεύοντος τοῦ δή/μου Τί. Φ(λ). Ἰουλιανοῦ, κουρατορευόντων τῶν/ γναφέων καὶ λευκαντῶν/ τῆς θεοῦ Ἀρτέμιδος,/ προσήνενκαν τῇ θεῷ / τὸν κόσμον παῖδες καὶ/ παρθένοι κτλ.

[77] [Ὑπὲρ σωτηρία]ς τῶ[ν/Σε]βα[στῶν]/[Κυρίων]/Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου/καὶ Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου/καὶ Ἰουλίας Δόμνης/[καὶ Σεπτιμίου Γέτα]/τὸν βωμὸν ἀνήγειραν καὶ τὸ/κλῖτος περιέλαβαν οἱ ἀπὸ συστέματος Ἀρτεμεισιακοῦ μεγάλου ἐπι/καλουμένου τῶν γναφέων πηχθέντος ὑπὸ/Ζήνωνος Ἀρίστωνο[ς] ὁ βωμὸς ἐγένετο ἐκ φ[ι]λοτιμίας Ζαβδίων/οἰκοδόμου Ἔτους ος', Γορπ<ι>αίου η'.

[78] For Aricia see Blagg (1985) and (1986). Furthermore: Alföldi (1960) and Gordon (1934). For Ephesus see Fleischer (1973); Bammer (1984); Talamo (1984); Roozenbeek (1994).

[79] Cf. Fisher in Kraeling (1938) 125.

[80] For the temple of Artemis at Gerasa see now Parapetti (1989). Cf. Kraeling (1938) and Browning (1982). For inscriptions found at the temple site see Lazarini (1989); cf. *SEG* 39, 1646-54.

[81] For λευκαντής=bleacher see Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* VI, 761, discussing a late antique inscription from Corinth. For bleachers in Oxyrhynchus see *P. Oxy* 3743; 3752; 3987.

problems. In recent discussions only a handful of references could be found.[82] Close scrutiny of the term has led to two different interpretations: textile workers and bath-attendants. An inscription from Aquileia strongly suggests textile workers,[83] but another one, from Roman Africa, definitely refers to a bath-attendant.[84] Admittedly, the two inscriptions from Aricia do not feature any evidence that would allow for a decision to be made in favour of either textile workers or bath-attendants. The presence of bath-attendants at Nemi, however, is not borne out by any other evidence, with the exception of the archaeological discovery of basins. Although the latter might have been used for ritual ablutions, it does not necessarily prove, as has been suggested, the existence of religious personnel whose duty it was to assist the worshippers.[85] To see the *lotores* in *CIL* XIV, 2156 as bath-attendants would imply major tampering with the formula *Dianae Augustae collegii lotorum sacrum*.[86] It would call into existence a *colleg(ium) lotor(um)*

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[82] Illuminati (1989); Bruun (1993).

[83] *CIL* V, 801. Calderini (1972) 325, refers to the inscription and identifies the *lotores* as fullers; "Non altro che fulloni sono poi i *lotores* (...)." He also describes a relief from the same city representing a woman in the act of bleaching a piece of cloth. Liebenam (1890) 109-10, endorses Mommsen's theory that the *gentiles Artoriani*, on mention in *CIL* V, 801, were barbarian prisoners forced to work in the *fullonica* of Artorius (the owner?). The technical term *gentiles* is found again in *AE* 1987, 443 (Altinum): *collegiatis gentilibus lanariorum purgatorum* ('wool workers and cleaners' or 'woolworkers,' viz 'cleaners'). *DizEp* sv takes *gentiles* to mean members of a *collegium funeraticium*.

[84] Bruun (1993) 223 with note 8.

[85] I agree with Bruun (1993) 225, that water and the act of washing were important in Roman religious practice, but I do not see any evidence for the existence of attendants in *religious* washing in the Roman world, as opposed to 'everyday' washing. As the plates in Ginouvès (1962) show, in the Greek world at least, worshippers were supposed to perform the ritual by themselves. Moreover, under certain circumstances it was the officiating priest who assisted with the ablutions. An inscription from Erythrae (*LSAM* 23: fourth century BC) indicates that before Korybantic initiations a priest washed male candidates and a priestess washed female candidates.

[86] See note 75 above for the full text. Bruun (1993) wants to solve the abbreviations in lines 2-3 as follows: *colleg(ium) lotor(um) sacr(orum)*. This solution, however, is not without problems. An important objection is that 'sacred bath-attendants' are unknown for the Roman world. The *balneatores* referred to in *DizEp*, sv 'balneum', esp. 968 f., are slaves in charge of the baths, not assistants in a purification ritual; see Wissemann (1984) for a discussion of personnel in Roman baths. Moreover, *sacer* is never used in connexion with temple-personnel. It is used to refer to the ruling emperor (*IRT*, 111 (Sabratha): *sacris auribus*), but in Aricia this does not make sense. In general *sacer* describes something or some person that 'belongs' to the god or goddess. For a pertinent discussion of the value of *sacer* see Fugier (1963). Her detailed account— esp. 20-45: les

sacr(*orum*); would this be a guild of 'sacred bath-attendants' or 'washers of sacred objects'? Neither explanation is fully convincing for lack of parallels.

One objection to the interpretation: *lotor*=textile worker, on close inspection, does not hold water. To find only *lotores* in Aricia—and no other specialized profession of textile manufacturers—does not necessarily imply that they were *not* fullers. How much labour specialization takes place in a town depends on a number of factors[87]: the availability of a labour supply not needed in any other sector of the economy (eg agriculture), and the level of demand. A simple rule may be applied here: the bigger the city, the more specialized the occupations. Of our three cities only Ephesus can boast of a population large enough to sustain a specialized market for different textile products. We might with some justification ascribe some economic diversity to harbour cities, such as Ephesus and Ostia,[88] but Aricia and Gerasa (where we only come across fullers), as inland cities, obviously were in a different category. It is to be expected that in small cities only one group of workers was responsible for all the stages of finishing the product for the market. In bigger centres, or in specialized production cities, a degree of labour specialization was economically viable, and it is for this reason that in Ephesus we find not only bleachers and fullers but a whole range of related industries (see note 136 below).

These three professional activities of washing, bleaching and fulling seem to refer to the different stages of the process of finishing the cloth after it has been woven. Some confusion, however, remains. *Fullones* proper are known to have been responsible for the washing of the cloth

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personnes sacrées—nowhere hints that *sacer* was used for personnel, whether slave or free, in the service of a deity, with the exception, of course, of the *sacerdos*.

[87] The wide variety of crafts in some ancient cities has been quoted as a possible indicator of modernity, cf. Hopkins (1978) 72 ff. For instance, Korykos with 110 different trades and Pompeii with 85. Jongman (1988a) 186, counters this argument by stating that this situation rather suggests that nearly all requirements for goods and services could be met from local production; in other words, "occupational diversity is a sign of the 'consumer city,' rather than of the 'producer city'." However, a sharp distinction should be drawn between a variety in occupations (which may indicate a 'consumer city') and labour specialization (eg the presence of spinners, weavers, bleachers, fullers etc); see Hopkins (1978) 71 with note 80.

[88] For Ostia see Meiggs (1973) and Hermansen (1981), esp. 55-91: The Guilds of Ostia.

as well,[89] and while discussing ancient sources with reference to the production of textiles Blümner could only conclude that bleachers were sometimes doing the work of fullers.[90] For reasons of convenience in the following pages the technical term 'fulling' will be used to describe all the stages in finishing the product for the market.

The process of fulling seems to have been as follows: the fuller clears the cloth of fat and spots which have become attached to it during weaving. To achieve this the fuller must stand in a basin (*lacuna*), filled with warm water, and stamp the cloth with his feet. In addition to water, fullers also used other liquids, such as natrium and human or animal urine (cf. Pliny the Elder, *HN* 28.91). Macrobius indicates that fullers had conveniences placed in their shops where passers-by were invited to deposit their urine (*Sat.* 3.16.15-6).[91] The laundry stage of the work is familiar to us from paintings in Pompeii and a relief from Sens.[92] Because of the heavy reliance on water, fullers usually took up residence near fountains,[93] springs or reservoirs, where they were allowed to use the public water-supply (Front. *De aq.* 94).[94] In some cities the authorities undertook huge construction works to accommodate the profession. This is substantiated by the fact that in the years AD 73-4 a specific fullers-canal was dug in Syrian Antioch, to be constructed

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89 Jongman (1988a) 166-7, describes it as 'laundry-work,' but cf. Petr. *Sat.* 30: *vestimenta sed iam semel lota*. In Altinum we find *lanarii* and *purgatores* working together, or perhaps *purgatorum* is adjectival here (see note 83 above)? Wild (1992) discusses the *colorator*, who is not, in his view, a 'dyer' or 'colourer,' but a 'dry cleaner'. The evidence suggests a wide range of terms for the same job.

90 Blümner (1969) 171-2 and 181, note 1, referring to Aesop *Fab.* 59 and *Evang. Marc.* 9.3. For the identification of bleachers as fullers: Blümner, 171, note 5.

91 A passage in the seventeenth century Dutch playwright Bredero's *Spaansche Brabander* indicates that in later periods this industry still relied on the generosity of passers-by with full bladders, and that fullers were even willing to pay for their urine: "En nou ick versta, dat de vullers ouwe pis kopen, Nou wil ick me water so licht veerdig niet meer laten lopen" ("Now that I understand that the fullers are paying money for old piss, I do not want to let my water run just anywhere").

92 Blümner (1969) 186-7; Jongman (1988a), plate X.

93 Cf. the term *collegium fontanorum* used in *CIL* VI, 266, 36; 267; 268; 9422 and *CIL* XII, 3337. An inscription from Ostia (*CIL* XIV, 4573), dating to AD 232 mentions a *corpus fontanorum q. ex SC coire lice(t)*. For the identification of *fontani* as fullers see Waltzing (1895-1900), vol. I, 202; III, 175.

94 Bruun (1993) 227, argues that "fullers established themselves in the proximity of baths only exceptionally." The late antique writer Palladius, he maintains, nowhere mentions fulleries when he discusses the use of the overflow from baths. Palladius, however, is writing on agriculture; why would he mention fulleries?

outside the city.[95] One of the reasons for removing the profession to the outskirts of urban areas was that the use of particular liquids called for a lot of complaints. After the cloth had been dried, the hairs were combed to straighten them out in order to cut them at the correct length. After this the cloth was bleached, a process which included fumigating with sulphur (Pliny, *NH* 35.175), and in the end it was dyed.

4. *The Sacred Robe*

Clothes are commonly mentioned in inventories of temples. A recently discovered inscription from Miletus gives a long list of textiles stored in a temple which was probably dedicated to Artemis Kithone ('Artemis Clothed-in-a-Tunic').[96] The textiles include purple robes, perhaps sacerdotal, long chitoons, linen garments and light mantles. Most gifts seem to have been old rags, which leads the *editor princeps* to conclude that we have a catalogue of useless, worn items which are no longer part of the official inventory, handed down annually by the responsible magistrates to their successors. Likewise the temple of Hera on Samos possessed a large wardrobe of garments of many hues—white, blue, crimson, purple and pied, some of them apparently much the worse for wear.[97] Finally, the temple of Artemis Brauronia on the Akropolis in Athens contained a large amount of robes.[98] Most of these gifts, however, were not the work of professional artisans but the best quality samples produced by devout women, which had been presented to the goddess to signify the successful (thanks to divine support) transition to the next

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[95] The text is *SEG* 35, 1483. The *editio princeps* was done by Feissel (1985). Tablet A of the inscription has been found on the right bank of the Orontes, opposite the Hellenistic city. Feissel (89) argues that this suburb would hardly have been as populated as it was three centuries later when Libanius composed his description of the suburbs outside the city's walls and emphasized the density of population. Feissel indicates that the capacity of the channel was gigantic, which must point to a huge local demand, presumably for cheap clothes, in Antioch and Syria as a whole. Antioch was not known for its export of luxury textiles, but we receive information on cheap clothes from Antioch entering the market in Rome, cf. Jones (1974) 355: "self-coloured Antiochenes."

[96] Günther (1988); cf. *SEG* 38, 1210. Two other inscriptions from Miletus confirm the existence of this cult: *SEG* 38, 1213-4. For a literary reference: Callimachus's first hymn, 77 and third hymn, 225.

[97] Pausanias, *DG* 7.4.4. For an inscription recording the inventory of the temple Shipley (1987) 157. The text itself has been reedited by Ohly (1958).

[98] *IG* II^2 1514-7; 1522; 1524-5 and 1527-9; cf. Linders (1972).

stage of the life-cycle.[99] To find evidence for artisanal involvement we must look elsewhere.

A possible explanation is provided by the inscription from Ephesus (*SEG* 34, 1124), from which we can infer that the fullers and bleachers worked for the *kosmos* of the goddess, quite possibly on a regular basis.[100] The offering of clothes to the gods was a well-known phenomenon in the ancient Near-Eastern world and later in history we also find the custom in the Graeco-Roman world.[101] Statues of gods and goddesses were regularly provided with clothes,[102] usually after a procession through town which ended with the ritual bathing of the statue.[103] In Argos, for instance, each year the statue of Athena (the Palladion) was stripped of its costume—either before it left the temple as happened in the Athenian festival of the Plynteria,[104] or at the river as the Teiresias narrative in the fifth hymn of Callimachus suggests[105]—driven out of town on a cart, bathed, and then given formal κόσμησις with plain oil and a ritual comb. After the bath the statue was reclothed and driven back to the city. The same ritual can be observed in two inscriptions from Delos (*IG* XI, 2, 144 and *IG* XI, 2, 161 A), while one festival in honour of Hera was called the Endymatia (Plut. *Mor.* 1134 C).

Statues of the gods were usually decked out with clothes, a practice for which there is ample evidence. A couple of examples may suffice here. The earliest example is the presentation of a robe to Artemis Orthia in Sparta as described by the seventh-century poet Alkman (*Partheneion* I, 60 ff.). One of the best-known rituals is the offering of peplos and/or chitoon to Pallas Athena on the occasion of the Panathenaic festival (Arist. *Ath. Const.* 49; 60; cf. Ar. *Av.* 826 f.).[106] The garment was not only presented to the goddess to be kept in her wardrobe, but was actually

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[99] Cole (1998) 36-40.

[100] See Knibbe and Engelmann (1984) 142-3: "das Praesenzpartizipium bedeutet offenbar, daß die genannten Zünfte regelmässig für den Kosmos der Artemis zu sorgen hatten." Cf. for the so-called *kosmophoroi* in Ephesus Picard (1922) 240-3. They are on record in *I. Ephesos* 14, line 23.

[101] Oppenheimer (1949); Sauren (1983).

[102] For clothes and statues in the Greco-Roman world see Persson (1923) 117-28; Pekary (1978); Donohue (1988) 60-1; Gladigow (1985-6); Romano (1988).

[103] For the bathing of statues see Ginouvès (1962) 283-96; Mitchell (1982), esp. 106-7; Kahil (1994).

[104] Parke (1977) 152-5.

[105] Bulloch (1985) 11.

[106] On the Panathenaea and the peplos see Robertson (1985) and Ridgway (1992).

meant to clothe her statue. In his description of the statue of Athena on the Akropolis Pausanias explicitly mentions the robe (*DG* 1.24.7). The image of the god Asclepius at Titane, in the vicinity of Sicyon, was clad in a white woollen shirt and a mantle (*DG* 2.11.6). In Magnesia on the Meander the wooden images of the Twelve Gods were clothed in their finest robes and carried out into the market-place on the twelfth day of the month Artemision. (*I. Magnesia* 98). In his description of cult at Hierapolis (pseudo-)Lucian mentions that many robes have been offered to temples (*Syr. D.* 10). The statue of the god Zeus is said to resemble the god in all respects: "in facial features, garments and throne" (31).[107]

In the western part of the Roman Empire the evidence is equally abundant. The Elder Pliny described the ancient practice of arraying the statue of Hercules Triumphant in triumphal vestments during the celebrations of a general's victory (*HN* 34.16.33).[108] In a letter by Pliny the Younger the god Clitumnus, who had his sanctuary in Umbria, is described as follows: "There stands Clitumnus himself, girt in a decorated official costume" (*Ep.* 8.5.5).[109] According to an inscription from Mactar, the *simulacrum* of the emperor was decked out with a golden (most likely gold embroidered) *tunica* (*AE* 1957, 55).[110] It is said that the emperor Caligula used to demand that his statue in the temple dedicated to him had to be dressed in the same clothes as the emperor himself was wearing that day (Suet. *Calig.* 22.3). In the *Life of Nero* Suetonius records that on the death of the emperor there were some who, in contrast to the public rejoicing, displayed *imagines praetextatae* on the rostra (*Nero* 57.1). A small temple next to the temple of Diana in Aricia, dedicated to Isis and Bubastis, presents an inventory recorded in an inscription (*CIL* XIV, 2215).[111] In a recently discovered inscription from Luni a woman has dedicated a *stola* and an *amictus* ('cloak') to Isis (*AE* 1985, 394), while a dedication to Bona Dea records the presentation

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[107] Doubts that Lucian was the author of the tract have been put more forcefully and convincingly in two recent publications: Baslez (1994); Dirven (1997). The fact that Lucian may not have been the author means that we have to take the description of cult at Hierapolis not as a satirical or ironic exercise by a known satirist, but as an informed discussion of Hellenization in Syria. The author may then have been a Hellenized local who based his account on a personal visit to the city (1; 60). Dirven (1997), esp. 159-63, offers the most extensive treatment of this perspective.

[108] Cf. Versnel (1970) 90.

[109] Cf. Scheid (1996).

[110] Cf. Fishwick (1988).

[111] Cf. Kajava (1987).

of two tunics and a small cloak.[112] Finally, an inscription from Fidenae mentions a *magistra Bonae Dea* who has dedicated, among other things, a statue dressed in a *pallium* and bleached clothes (*vestimenta albata*) to the goddess.[113]

The key evidence on clothes, however, is provided by an inscription from Ephesus, probably dating to the fourth century BC (*I. Ephesos* 2). It records a case of religious 'terrorism' committed by the people of Sardis where a branch-sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia had been founded. The text indicates that the Ephesians used to send sacred garments to the temple at Sardis and that the offenders had treated these with disrespect. The reasons for their behaviour remain obscure (perhaps they were fed up with religious 'imperialism'),[114] but we must assume that the clothes were trampled or dragged through the mud. Masson, who published an extensive study on various aspects of the text, concludes that these clothes must have been sent to deck the statue of the goddess in Sardis.[115] This information would suggest a demand for religious textiles in the form of clothes used to adorn statues in temples. The religious element is further confirmed by the close association which the fullers advertise with Artemis/Diana. The groups of fullers attested in Gerasa, Ephesus and Aricia have organized themselves as a professional association (implied by the word *sustema* in Gerasa; an association may be presumed on the basis of the term *curatores* in Ephesus; *collegium* in Aricia) and have chosen a protecting deity. A detailed discussion of this association may provide further insights into the exact nature of their economic role.

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[112] Brouwer (1989), nr. 69 from Signia; see Kajava (1987) for a better interpretation of some of the technical terms used in the text.

[113] Brouwer (1989) 62, nr. 54.

[114] See Sokolowski (1965) 429: "The reason for the assault on the Ephesian embassy seems to have been envy of some persons who were opposed to any toleration of the Ephesian cult into Sardis." He then expounds on the hostility between Sardis and Ephesus and in the end he concludes that the Sardians resisted the infiltration of a foreign cult.

[115] Masson (1987). For a different interpretation of the central passage in this text see Wankel (1987), who argues that one can only conclude from lines 4-5 that the Ephesian envoys came to collect a 'Kleidenspende' from Artemis Ephesia.

5. *Religion, Craftsmen and Workshops*[116]

The configuration of associations of craftsmen and religious pursuits is a familiar aspect of the Graeco-Roman world.[117] Religious piety may be identified as one of the basic incitements for people to form an association. In cases where other elements—communal meals, ensuring burial for members—became the predominant characteristic, religion still added a veneer of civic respectability to their social activities. In the case of professional associations there is bound to have been a close relationship between the kind of labour the workers performed and the selection of an appropriate deity. The activities of the craftsmen and the professional territory covered by the god are normally so intertwined that identification of the former is made possible by the spelling out of the latter. Thus, while analyzing an inscription from Tarsus (*IGR* III, 883) which mentions a συνέργιον of Δήμητρος θεράποντες ('worshippers of Demeter'), Louis Robert was able to argue that they were corn-merchants.[118] In this sense, therefore, every professional association in the ancient world was also a religious club in that a protecting deity was chosen that reflected their commercial interests.

Fullers of Artemis/Diana, however, provide a number of anomalies. First of all, their natural choice for a patron deity would have been Minerva/Athena, not Diana or Artemis.[119] In the case of Ephesus, the

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[116] The literature on ergasteria ('workshops') and their economic importance is far from abundant. For ergasteria in the city of Athens: Bettali (1985); Stanley (1990).

[117] Waltzing (1895-1900), vol. IV, 456 ff. gives an extensive list. For a more comprehensively sociological approach to associations in the East, cf. Van Nijf (1997).

[118] Robert (1977) 93; *SEG* 26, 1457; cf. Robert (1949) 197-205. Robert's series of articles in Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique entitled 'Documents d'Asie Mineure' which were published between 1977 and 1984 have since been republished in a single volume: Robert (1987). Since this volume conveniently retains the page-numbering of the original articles, I have confined my references to the original articles, which may in any case be more accessible. For another example of a 'natural' link between god and guild see Voutiras (1992), esp. 90-2, on a new inscription form Thessaloniki mentioning a guild of ship-captains (and traders?) from Amastris whose members were worshippers of Aphrodite Epiteuksidia ('the goddess of success'), cf. *SEG* 42, 625.

[119] In early Rome the festival of the Quinquatria, dedicated to Minerva, especially involved the fullers, cf. Frassinetti (1953) 39-48. In epigraphy the relationship between fullers and Minerva is common. An inscription from Alsheim (Germany) records the fuller Vitalius Secundinus' dedication of an altar to Minerva (*CIL* XIII, 6264) and *lotores* from Aquileia also honour this goddess (*CIL* V, 801). In Spoletium *fullones* honour Minerva Domina (*CIL* XI, 4771). In Arpinum, however, the *fullones* seem to have a preference for Mercury who in one text is called Lanarius (*CIL* X, 5678). For Mercury as

connexion between Artemis and the textile workers acquires an even greater significance through the attestation of a cult of Athena, although it was less prominent than that of Artemis.[120]. Moreover, Athena's priestess figures in *SEG* 34, 1124, although in a different context than we might have expected. She is assumed to have been in charge of the education of the children on record in lines 11-2.[121] Athena's more common role as guardian of manufacturers and artisans has not been attested so far. A further eccentricity is that in the case of Gerasa, Aricia and Ephesus the craftsmen express a close onomastic relationship with the cult, as if to single out themselves from their colleagues who could not boast of the same proximity to the goddess. We notice 'the fullers and bleachers of the goddess Artemis' in Ephesus and 'those members of the association of the fullers that is called the great Artemisiakos' in Gerasa. In Aricia Diana is addressed as 'Diana Augusta of the association of the fullers'.

A number of reasons may be advanced to explain this peculiar phenomenon. The most straightforward solution lies in the religious and civic stature of the goddess with whom they have associated themselves. With Artemis being the predominant religious force in Ephesus and Gerasa, and Diana performing the same role in Aricia, one can readily imagine that considerations of prestige influenced the selection of a deity. However, this does not explain why other groups of craftsmen did not boast of the same prestigious position. Even the silversmiths of Ephesus, who defended the cult of Artemis so vigorously, fail to mention a relationship such as the one demonstrated by the fullers and bleachers.[122]

The constellation of craftsmen and religion contains another dimension which must now be explored. A text from Smyrna highlights

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patron of textile workers see Arnob., *Nat.*, 3. 20; Tert., *de pallio*, 3. 5; Coarelli (1996) 202, n. 11.

[120] Oster (1990) 1671; Knibbe (1978).

[121] Knibbe and Engelmann (1984) 143. In the famous Salutaris' inscription Athena is styled Athena Pammousos, which confirms, according to Robert (1965) 56, her relationship with the children.

[122] It is true that in *I. Ephesos* 636 mention is made of the ἱερὸν συνέδριον τῶν ἀργυροκόπων (cf. 2441, where συνέδριον has been restored; however, there seems to be not enough space for ἱερὸν), cf. Pleket (1994b) 121. This is evidence of an elevated status for these artisans, perhaps even testimony of a direct relationship with Artemis (note that the same formula is used for the religious personnel of the Artemis cult), but the pattern differs widely from that applied to the fullers.

the existence of φορτηγοὶ Ἀσκληπιασταί ἐκ τοῦ ἐνπορίου ('the Asklepiastic porters from the harbour'). Petzl's suggestion that they have placed themselves under the protection of the god is, of course, entirely correct, but it does not bring us any closer to a better understanding of the special relationship between Asclepius and an association of porters.[123] Louis Robert has demonstrated that the origin of the 'cooperation' must be sought in a spatial context. He has pointed out that the Smyrnaean Asklepieion was situated in the harbour area (Ael. Arist. *Or.* 26,531; Paus. *DG* 2.26.9): "(....) cet Asclépieion voisin de la mer et du port était près de l'*emporion*; les portefaix de l'*emporion* étaient alors à côté de l'Asclépieion."[124] The existence of workshops next to or even within the sacred area has been attested for several other Greek cities.[125] The uncommon find of fullers of Artemis/Diana might be explained through a decision to set up residence close to the main sanctuary.

The one thing that is bound to have been a major factor in the choice of a location for setting up fullers' workshops in any city is the availability of an abundant water-supply. Since nothing is known about a fullers-canal in any of our three cities, we must assume that they had taken up residence near public water-supplies. Given the lack of water resources in the ancient world, it is inevitable that some sources were used by different interested parties. Sanctuaries were commonly established in locations where a water-supply was available: "There will be a natural decor: first, if for all temples there shall be chosen the most healthy sites with suitable springs in those places in which shrines are to

[123] *I. Smyrna* II,1, 713, with commentary ad loc., 212: "Die φορτηγοὶ Ἀσκληπιασταί hatten sich unter den Schutz des Heilgottes gestellt." Petzl also suggests that the words ἐκ τοῦ ἐνπορίου might go together with βάθρα ('seats/benches'), implying that the porters were not operating from the harbour but only *in* the harbour. This seems to contradict the evidence. In Ephesus the smiths seem to have been residing in or near the temple of Hephaestus (*I. Ephesos* 1384).

[124] Robert (1977) 91, note 8.

[125] In Isaura, Sebastopolis in Pontus, Miletus, Athens, Ephesus and Magnesia; cf. Robert (1984) 496-9. For Lybia cf. Brouquier-Reddé (1992) 83: the temple of Liber Pater on the old forum at Lepcis Magna had some shops attached to it. Zanda (1990) has identified one building next to the Iseion in Industria as a workshop where ex-votos were produced, esp. 572: "Il ritrovamento in fine, sul decumano a sud dell'Iseion, di notevoli quantità di scorie di fusione e del pozzetto con residui di lavorazione, mi pare che non lasci più dubbi sulla presenza di attività artigianali in loco che producevano almeno I più comuni ex-voto in uso nel santuario (...)." For a discussion of the *fabri subaedani* in Narbonne see Kneissl (1994).

be set up etc." (Vitr. *De arch.* 1.2.7).[126] Many cults, especially those of Asclepius, Demeter, Hera, Artemis,[127] were totally dependent on water for their rituals[128] and in order to perform these in the proper way the water had to be pure.[129] 'Pollution' was checked through the issuing of decrees. An inscription from Attica dating to the fifth century BC prohibits the soaking of hides in the river Ilissos upstream from the sanctuary of Herakles (*SEG* 3, 18).[130] Not all water from sanctuaries, however, was restricted to ritual use; it was sometimes sold for domestic purposes.[131] In other cases a practical osmosis between industry and religion must be assumed. In Phrygian Hierapolis, Debord argues, the 'washers' and 'dyers' must have used a source that was located in the sacred area.[132]

The inscriptions from Aricia were found in Genzano and Ariccia, not in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Diana, although they may, of course, have been removed from their original setting. Archaeological excavations have uncovered water basins at the temple site, but it is commonly accepted that these were used for ritual ablutions.[133] The inscription mentioning the fullers from Gerasa was found on an elevation near the sanctuary of Artemis. Gerasa drew its water from a place called Birketein situated a few miles to the north of the city. From there water was certainly provided to the Fountain Court (now part of the cathedral, but assumed to have been a temple of Dionysus in pagan times)[134] and the Nymphaeum, both in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary of

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[126] *Naturalis autem decor sic erit primum omnibus templis, saluberrimae regionis aquarumque fontes in his locis idonei eligantur in quibus fana constituantur.*

[127] For the cult of Artemis and the importance of water see Morizot (1994).

[128] Cole (1988).

[129] Parker (1983) 326-7.

[130] This text is discussed in more detail, although for different reasons, by Billot (1992). Her discussion of the tanners (155-6) shows that these craftsmen had occupied a site close to the temple of Herakles Pankrates. She also refers to a relief, presumably coming from this sanctuary, dedicated by "une association ou corporation de douze laveurs" (156); the Greek text has οἱ πλυνῆς. The stone (*IG* II², 2934) is a dedication to the Nymphs and all the gods and shows Pan, Achelous, Hermes, Demeter and Persephone, which evokes the countryside, or, in Billot's words (156) "la région même où travaillent les laveurs, les eaux limpides de l'Ilissos en aval du sanctuaire de Pancratès."

[131] Panassa (1983).

[132] Debord (1982) 15.

[133] Scheid (1992).

[134] The area of the "Cathedral" is currently the subject of a new investigation, undertaken by a Swiss team of archaeologists, cf. Brenk, Jäggi and Meier (1994); (1995).

Artemis. It would be extraordinary if the Birketein did not also supply water to the temple-area. The fullers have raised and dedicated an altar to the imperial family in AD 207 and cut out a sacred space, quite possibly as an annex to the main temple. In itself, however, this evidence is inconclusive to assume that they also had their workshops there. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus is supposed to have had the disposal of huge water-resources.[135] However, the exact spot where the fullers of Ephesus had their workshops cannot be ascertained. A natural preference for residence near gymnasiums and baths is suggested by the sources.[136] Be that as it may, Ephesus is notorious for the difficulties of tracing the original sites of inscriptions.[137] One inscription mentioning workshops was found in the (late antique) baths of Scholastikia (*I. Ephesos* 421; cf. *BE* 1977, 417), and the chances are that the stone was reused as building-material.

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[135] Picard (1922) 57 f.; Panassa (1983) 375.

[136] Nothing is known about the number of workers involved in the profession. The individual attestations are not numerous, but instead there seems to have been a great degree of professional specialization. *Lentiuphantai* are mentioned as one of the groups which possessed the privilege of reserved seats in the public latrines of the Vedius-gymnasium (*I. Ephesos* 454; cf. *SEG* 35, 1111). The commentary ad loc. gives *lintearii*, 'Leinenweber,' but a *lintearius* is most probably not a weaver, but a cloakroom attendant; cf. D.M. Lewis, *Classical Review* 91 (1977), 145 and *BE* 1978, 522, p. 498. *Lentiuphantai* must be a group of specialized weavers producing napkins and towels. In an inscription found in the vicinity of the assembly-place of the municipal council the wool workers (*lanarioi*) have dedicated an inscription in honour of their 'founder' Publius Vedius Antoninus (*I. Ephesos* 727). In 2446 we find a group of linen weavers (*linuphoi*) as the beneficiaries of the fine against disturbing the grave of a member of the gerousia and a former leader in the torch-race. In addition, the technical term 'fuller' was used as a nick-name for a runner, possibly because of his style (*I. Ephesos* 1121, 10). The profession, therefore, must have been well known. Shops, although we do not know of what kind, seem to have been situated in gymnasiums: for shops in the East-gymnasium see W. Alzinger, *RE* Suppl. XII, 1614.

[137] Note the general warning sounded by Knibbe (1985) 72: "Zu verworren und meist nicht mehr rekonstruirbar sind die 'fata lapidum Ephesiacorum'." Some of the inscriptions mentioning shops along the so-called 'Strassenhalle,' and which Knibbe definitely assigns to that spot, have been found in or near the theatre, which encouraged previous scholars to assume the existence of a colonnade above the theatre: "Geschäfte werden in der Regel nicht auf Bergen, sondern vielmehr entlang belebter Strassen gemacht" (ib.). A recent find confirms that the 'Strassenhalle,' leading from the stadium to the Artemision, along the route taken by Artemis-processions, was an important economic artery of the city: Knibbe (1985). Among those having shops there we need specifically mention the sellers of sacred wine coming from estates belonging to the Artemision; see Engelmann (1986) 107-8: "Jeder Passant konnte dort die Weine der Tempelgüter kosten und kaufen."

There is a third and final possibility which assumes a much closer relationship between temple and craftsmen. There is evidence which suggests that sanctuaries were not merely focal points for commercial activities but were actively engaged in the production and merchandising of economic items from workshops that they owned. In an inscription from Pergamum mention is made of ergasteria being in the charge of a priest, presumably of Zeus (*I. Pergamon* 40). One of the priest's privileges consisted of a share in the profits. The nature of these workshops has been heavily debated by Rostovzeff and Tod. The former argued that these were textile workshops, whereas Tod later interpreted them as shops where the garments were actually sold.[138] This distinction is far too artificial to be applicable to the ancient world, for we know from various texts that a combination of workshop and shop was not uncommon.[139] Louis Robert argued that the ergasteria in Pergamum were located in the portico of the agora close to the altar and temple of Zeus Sôter.[140] As the text indicates, the workshops have been donated to the cult by a Hellenistic king (Attalus I ?). It is clear that from the time of donation they will belong permanently to the sanctuary: the priest is specifically requested to hand them over to his successor. In Magnesia on the Meander an inscription mentions that a priest has given orders that *oikiai* ('houses,' 'dining-halls,' or buildings for commercial use?)[141] and *ergasteria* be plastered white and inscribed with the text 'belonging to Artemis Leukophryene' (*I. Magnesia* 100). Other cases suggest that private individuals, perhaps inspired by religious fervour, transferred ownership of workshops to a god or a goddess. One such inscription from Ephesus, dating to the second century AD, mentions the dedication of workshops and their proceeds (*I. Ephesos* 443; cf. *BE* 1966, 367). Another text of the same date mentions a similar arrangement, but this time it also included Trajan and the people of Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 421;

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[138] Rostovzeff (1923) 381; Tod (1950) 13-4.

[139] Debord (1982) 16-7. He points to an inscription from Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 421; cf. *BE* 1977, 417), indicating that one Leukios dedicated a building containing workshops to Artemis and donated all profits resulting from its proceeds to the temple.

[140] Robert (1984) 499.

[141] For Samos see Soverini (1990-91) 89-9, who discusses the vital commercial function of *oikiai* in the possession of the sanctuary ('storehouses' or 'shops'). Cf. Nemeth (1994) 61-2.

cf. *BE* 1977, 417). How this particular arrangement worked[142] and for what purposes the proceeds were used is not clarified by the text. The money may have been entrusted to the Artimision and subsequently allocated to the specific cults.

Of more importance, however, is the fact that in these texts nothing is said of the workers who found employment in the workshops. Did they move with the property to the new owner? Even if they were empty at the moment the transferral was made, one may assume that the new owner stamped its authority on the commercial enterprise.[143] If such was indeed the case it may be conceived that the workers in these shops received a religious epithet to mark them out from the rest of their colleagues. References to the proceeds that should go to the sanctuary from the moment of dedication suggest that the strategy, however the financial details were spelled out, entailed one major change: the profits went to the cult, not to an entrepreneur. If the craftsmen had previously worked for an entrepreneur, it seems logical to expect that their contracts were taken over by the officials administering the cult, most likely the neopoioi. Perhaps the latter leased the workshops to an individual, as we know happened on Delos with workshops that came into the possession of the cult by confiscation.[144] After the dedication the workshop will have become registered as part of the hieroi prosodoi, the sacred possessions. In such cases the craftsmen would have worked for the sanctuary, which might have encouraged them to adopt the goddess' name in their official acts of self-presentation.

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[142] The main question is, of course, what exactly is being dedicated. Pleket (1970) 61-75, nr. 4 has an extensive discussion on the dedication of workshops to Demeter by P. Aelius Menekrates from Almoura (territory of Ephesus; *I. Ephesos* 3252). Pleket assumes that the revenues of the workshops were being dedicated (72), not the buildings themselves. Admittedly, in this case the revenues are used to pay for the *summa honoraria* of the priesthood of Demeter and nothing is being stipulated about a transfer of the buildings. Nevertheless, the text plainly states that it was the workshops which were dedicated. The difference may be in the technical language used: this text has καθιερόω instead of the more common word ἀνατίθημι (which is used in *I. Ephesos* 421 and 443). Note also that it is explicitly stated that the workshops were located in front of Menekrates' house. Pleket argues that they must have been rather large, compared with the small shops where the owner himself also lived (73, with note 42). He furthermore suggests that Menekrates' workshops were peopled with hemp-workers.

[143] With regard to the workshops in Pergamum Robert (1984) 498, maintains that they were empty at the moment of transfer to the custody of the priest.

[144] Hennig (1983); (1985).

6. *The Market and the 'Market'*

Their involvement with the cult having been defined more clearly, we may now attempt an investigation into the extent of the textile workers' market. Their work for the cult might be of great religious significance, but any economic sense is lacking. Since cult statues did not need much clothing (clothes were renewed only once a year or once every five years)[145] the fullers must have worked for another market, but which one?

The city of Ephesus—and her enormous hinterland—provided an extensive local market.[146] Whether urban or rural industries supplied the inhabitants with much of their clothing cannot be ascertained. Evidence from Hypaipa suggests that urban outlets were serviced from the countryside: part of Ephesian demand was probably met by producers from that city.[147] Aricia derived its claim to fame from its vegetables and wine, sharing the characteristics of most small towns in Latium in that it provided food and cheap wine for the metropolis of Rome.[148] Whether clothes were produced locally or had to be imported is a question that cannot be answered for lack of evidence. In the case of Gerasa we know that a local association of weavers existed (*SEG* 7, 827), and it has been suggested that the city may have been the centre for the production of "textiles de qualité," which were then purchased by the purple-dyers from Tyre.[149] Attractive though this hypothesis may seem, such a relationship between Gerasa and Tyre cannot be substantiated for lack of compelling evidence. As a city of the Decapolis, Gerasa can be trusted to have had a bustling economic life, but its extent is unknown.[150]

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[145] Heinzel (1972/3) 247, argues that in the case of Artemis Ephesia the clothes were changed once a month. She bases this argument on the imagery of the zodiac visible on extant copies of the statue of Artemis. Other scholars have demolished this theory; see Fleischer (1978) 338-9; Oster (1990) 1724.

[146] Cf. Pleket (1990a) 188-9; on average a population figure of ca. 100,000 has been accepted. Cf. now also Pleket (1994).

[147] See Drew-Bear (1980) and *SEG* 30, 1382-7; cf. Pleket's remarks (1988), esp. 31.

[148] Leeks: Columella X 139: *mater Aricia porri*; Pliny *NH* XIX 110; cabbage: Pliny *NH* XIX 140; wine: Pliny *NH* XIV 12. For the role of small towns in supplying Rome with food, cf. Morley (1996) 88-90.

[149] Sartre (1991) 350.

[150] Braemer (1989). For the *macellum* at Gerasa see Martín Bueno 1989; Uscalescu/Martín Bueno 1997. Inscriptions found at the market-place mention ceramists (*SEG* 7, 879) and market traders (*SEG* 7, 880). Millar (1993) 411-2, notes the presence of conventional Greek city institutions in the first half of the first century AD, "in a way

If an extension of the fullers' activities is sought, and the importance of the religious association retained, a closer involvement with the cult itself might be envisaged. In other words, which other category or categories of people needed clothes? One possible market is suggested by the inscription from Pergamum which prescribes the wearing of a white chlamys by the priest.[151] Lucian mentions the three hundred priests of 'Cybele' in Hierapolis all dressed in white. Only the chief-priest was allowed to wear purple (*Syr.D.* 42). If a papyrus from the city of Oxyrhinchus is anything to go by (*P.Oxy* 1414), the order for the production of such clothes was placed with the local weavers. One may perhaps be justified in assuming that when the cult possessed textile manufacturers of her own, it was to these that the priest(s) turned. Be that as it may, economic transactions of this kind must have been of a fairly limited nature.

The prime market may have been the crowds of visitors which the cults attracted.[152] No accurate information on the numbers involved is available for any cult, but one extraordinary piece of writing illustrates the effects of the establishment of a new cult on an obscure village in Paphlagonia. Lucian vividly describes how the cult of Glykoon became immensely popular: "As by this time throngs upon throngs were pouring in and their city [Abunoteichos] was becoming overcrowded on account of the multitude of visitors to the shrine" (*Alex.* 49). In spite of some rhetorical exaggeration the picture is most likely drawn from real life. Moreover, ancient religion and ritual commonly aroused a considerable amount of spectator interest, even in cases which we would be tempted to associate with the sphere of private religiosity. One of the cures suggested to Aelius Aristides was to smear himself with mud and to sit in the courtyard of the Sacred Gymnasium: "this also happened before

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which is very rare for this period anywhere in the Near East." Was this due to prosperity or to some other factor?

[151] *I. Pergamon* 40. See the discussion of this text by Robert (1984) 496-9. The priests and the sacred victors who promised to carry Salutaris' 'type'-statues should also dress in white; for this foundation and its place in Ephesian ritual see Rogers (1991). The recently published text from Oinoanda on the festival instituted by Demosthenes contains two regulations for the wearing of white clothes: for the ten *sebastophoroi* (ll. 61-2) and for the twenty *mastigophoroi* (ll. 63-4). For this text see Wörrle (1988) 218-9. As a parallel Wörrle refers to the wearing of white clothes by the *sebastophoroi* mentioned in an inscription from Gytheion: *IG* V, 1 1208.

[152] On pilgrims in the ancient world see Hunt (1984); Bernand (1988); Dillon (1990); Elsner (1992); Dillon (1997). The classic study is Nock (1972).

many spectators" (48.77, ed. C.A. Behr). Processions were sure to bring in large crowds; in Ephesus the procession towards the Artemision described by Xenophon drew a multitude of people from the city and from the countryside (*Ephesiaca* 1.2.3).[153]

Since all these visitors had to be fed,[154] housed and entertained, a religious occasion furnished the incentive to hold a market. Markets formed an integral part of religious festivities: "(....) the most important factor of all was the connection between religion and commerce", as Ramsay MacMullen observed correctly.[155] Strabo calls the general festival on Delos a kind of commercial affair (10.5.4) and he indicates that inhabitants of the surrounding cities meet at Fregellae "both to hold markets and to perform certain sacred rites" (5.3.10). The festival of Zeus at Olympia was called the *mercatus Olympiacus* (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.3). In Xanthos a market was held on the premises of the temple of Leto (*IGR* III, 630) and in Sabine country a *mercatus* was organized at the same time that sacrifices were offered to Liber.[156]

How are we to evaluate these markets in economic terms? In the past decade markets in the ancient world have received new and vigorous attention from a number of scholars.[157] In these studies the main emphasis is on the functioning of the market between centre and periphery and on the relationship between city and countryside. Relatively little attention has been paid to markets held during festivals.[158] In a stimulating discussion Luuk de Ligt has denied that

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[153] On the role of Ephesos and Artemis Ephesia in the ancient novel see Thomas (1995).

[154] Overcrowding produced heavy strains on the available food supply. Cf. De Ligt (1993b) 229-34, on the purpose of festive *ateleia*; as in so many other cases, benefactors stepped in to secure an adequate food supply.

[155] MacMullen (1970) 336. His remark at 337 that "pilgrims first paid hommage to the gods and then silver to the shopkeeper (...)" should be the other way round in the case of textiles: they first bought the specific clothes and then went to the temple. Obviously, sacrificial animals must have been bought before a visit as well.

[156] Evans (1939) 41. The coupling together of examples from Roman and Greek territory is a bit misleading, obscuring to a certain extent the differences of scale between the economic potential of Roman and Greek temples. Gabba (1975) 155-6, argues that Roman markets did not reach the same extension as Greek panegyreis. The reasons must be sought in the extensive territory owned by Greek temples—in Italy only Diana Tifatina is known to have possessed estates—and their institutional independence from the cities in which areas they were situated.

[157] Nollé (1982); Frayn (1993); De Ligt and De Neeve (1988); De Ligt (1993a); (1993b).

[158] With the notable exception of De Ligt and De Neeve (1988).

economic benefits were an important consideration in the advertising of these panegyreis to inhabitants of neighbouring—and remote—towns.[159] His thoughts on the matter are driven by the absence of compelling evidence on the prioritization of economic interests to benefit local shopkeepers and tradesmen.[160] His arguments are cogent and forceful, but one wonders how much of the outcome is determined by the nature of the documents that he has studied. He is entirely correct in awarding pre-eminence to civic pride over economic benefits. Be that as it may, is this not what we have come to expect when studying the ancient economy? De Ligt's arguments are perhaps influenced by patterns in contemporary society where an economic policy *is* formulated—and how much of this is really determined by purely economic arguments? It does not necessarily require a detailed policy framework for an economy to be a functioning mechanism. Secondly, De Ligt does not take into consideration the possible economic interests of local members of the aristocracy in their role as priests involved in the organization of festivals. Thirdly, in De Ligt's account there seems to be no place for the spin-offs of cultic requirements. These appear as non-economic items in another form of documentary evidence: sacred laws. Given the nature of this evidence, religious stipulations take precedence, but does this rule them out as useful evidence for the study of the ancient economy?

In an important contribution to the discussion, de Ligt and de Neeve have argued that at festival-markets trade was mainly in rural products.[161] Dominant in our sources are food, sacrificial animals[162] and votives. A strong presence of cult-related items is noticeable. One of the markets, the one of the Isis festival in Tithorea, described by Pausanias (*DG* 10.32.15), lists trade in slaves, cattle, clothes, silver and gold.[163] The 'industry' generated by the existence of cult and festival can be glimpsed from finds from the Artemis-temple at Perge (Pamphilia). The items include gold objects, bronze pins and acorn necklaces and were all part of a long list of offerings made by donors coming from neighbouring

[159] De Ligt (1993b) 225-34.
[160] Ibid. 226-7.
[161] De Ligt and De Neeve (1988) 404.
[162] Cf. Debord (1982) 236, for the scale of demand for sacrificial animals. The selling of the hides was an important source of income for the city: Debord (1982) 195.
[163] Cf. De Ligt (1993b) 78-9, for a classification of this market as a local fair, with as its main characteristics a limited volume of goods exchanged and the shortness of the distance travelled by potential buyers and sellers.

cities; it is assumed that the majority of the objects were bought locally, since most belong to two types.[164] If these less important sites provide us with evidence of cult-related 'industries' and trading, major centres of worship must have witnessed a multiplication of economic activities.

The case of the silversmiths at Ephesus may reflect the scope of economic activities in bigger cult-centres.[165] From the story in Acts 19: 23-41 we may infer that they were engaged in the production and selling of miniature replicas of the Artemision, obviously for the tourism industry.[166] The missionary activities of Paul threatened their enterprise, at least that is how it was perceived by the silversmiths themselves. A spontaneous demonstration of these craftsmen and the people followed during which they shouted the famous slogan 'Great is Artemis of the Ephesians'. The threat to their livelihood was perhaps not imaginary. We know that during Paul's stay in Ephesus amulets (the famous *Ephesia grammata*) were destroyed to the value of 50,000 drachmas.[167] Although the figure itself may not be a precise estimate, it points to a lucrative industry.

7. *Clothes at Processions and Festivals*

According to an eye-witness of the celebrations in Alexandria, at the accession of Caligula in AD 37 "there was nothing to be seen throughout the cities but altars, victims, sacrifices, people in white clothes (λευχειμονοῦντας), garlanded and cheerful, showing their goodwill by their happy faces, banquets, religious assemblies, musical competitions, horse-races, revels, night-celebrations to the music of flutes and the lyre,

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[164] MacKay (1990) 2071.

[165] The inscriptions mentioning silversmiths in Ephesus have been discussed by Horsely (1987) 7-10.

[166] Cf. Debord (1982) 237: "Il n'est pas impossible que de tels 'souvenirs' aient pu être fabriqués, représentation stylisée de l'Artémision telle les monnaies peuvent nous en donner une image; notons cependant qu'aucun n'a été conservé", with note 224: "Mais on peut penser aux nombreux ex-votoes en terre cuite qui sont des temples modèle réduit." Three of such ex-votos have been excavated from the temple of Diana at Nemi; cf. Blagg (1993) 107. Koester (1995) 130, with note 40 argues that the silversmiths are unlikely to have produced small-scale replicas of the entire Artemision. In his opinion they probably made statues of Artemis standing in a small naiskos.

[167] Debord (1982) 17.

enjoyment, recreation, holidays, and every kind of pleasure appealing to every sense."[168]

Another illustrative example comes from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. When Lucius is told in Rome that he has to undergo yet another initiation in the rites of Isis, the following arguments are brought forth by the priest: "Further, the approaching revelation of the mysteries is most necessary for you, if you now recall to your mind that the garments of the goddess, which you took upon you in Achaea, were stored in the temple and there remain, so that you will not be able, on festival-days in Rome, either to make supplication in them, or, when the command is given, to be made radiant by that blessed robe" (11.29; trans. Gwyn Griffith). It should be stressed that Lucius himself had to buy these, and also the clothes with which he had donned himself beforehand.[169]

Admittedly we are dealing here with a highly important religious occasion (initiation into a mystery cult), and therefore a religious procedure which was not open to everybody, but, as the priest's words suggest, the idea of specific clothes for religious festivals is definitely present. In an inscription from the small town of Gabii in middle Italy a woman named Agusia Priscilla is honoured; she was a priestess of the Spes and Salus Augusti (*CIL* XIV, 2804). At a spectacle staged in honour of Antoninus Pius and his children she donated clothes to the public[170]: *cum, pro/salute principis Antonini Aug. Pii,/pater patriae, liberorum eius/eximio ludorum spectaculum edito,/religioni, veste donata/universis, satisfecerit*. *Religio*[171] most probably refers to the spectacle staged by Agusia Priscilla, and the clothes would have been worn by the

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[168] Philo, *Leg.* 2.12; ed. and trans. E. Mary Smallwood (Leiden 1961). I am indebted to Henk Versnel for this reference.

[169] Cf. 11.21: *sumptus etiam caeremoniis necessarios simili praecepto destinari* [Isis' command having come to Lucius in a dream]; 11.22: *quantoque sumptu deberem procurare supplicamentis*; 11.23: *ea protinus naviter et aliquanto liberalius partim ipse, partim per meos socios coemenda procuro*; 11.30: *comparo largitus ex studio pietatis magis quam mensura rerum collatis sumptibus*. It remains a mystery where Lucius had bought these robes. Was there a special shop in either Cenchrae (where Lucius' first initiation took place) or in Rome that sold initiation robes or did he get them at the sanctuary?

[170] Her gesture can be equated to the generosity of emperors who donated clothes to the citizens of Rome: *HA* Aurel. 48.

[171] The term is used in a similar context in *AE* 1987, 230 (Praeneste): *ludos scaenicos Pal. relig(ione) dign(os) Fort. Prim. edidit* and in *AE* 1968, 609 (Hr.-el-Oust; territory of Mustis).

audience.[172] Several inscriptions indicate that worshippers of specific cults were required to wear particular clothes for temple visits.[173] An inscription from Priene indicates that people were only allowed to enter the sanctuary of Alexander when wearing white clothes (*I. Priene* 205=*LSAM* 35). The same rule applies to visitors to the temples of Athena Lindia on Rhodes (*I. Lindos* 487=*LSCGS* 91) and Zeus Cynthios and Athena Cynthia on Delos (*LSCGS* 59). Inscriptions informing us on the obligation to wear clothes of a certain colour are lacking for both Aricia and Gerasa. For Ephesus, however, we are fortunate in having the literary testimony of the Acts of John. In chapter 38 John goes into the Artemision and is set upon by the crowd, because he is the only one wearing black, whereas the worshippers are dressed in white festive clothes (πάντων λευκοφορούντων).[174] Since the author seems to be 'au fait' with Ephesian circumstances, we may accept as proven that on important occasions worshippers of Artemis dressed in white.[175]

'Sacred space' was clearly marked, and was conceived of as being separate from 'civic space'.[176] Festivals and other important religious events, such as the anniversary of the temple's foundation, required a different conception of time and space. Rules, different from the ones usually adhered to, were applied during festivals and visits to temples. For example, the civic hierarchy was replaced by a religious one.[177] In

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[172] For the use of *universus* as referring to the total citizen population of a town see *AE* 1961, 609 (Corfinium): *frequentesque epulationes et divisiones nummar. universis civibus ex suo distribuit* etc.

[173] These rules did not apply to women in the same sense as they applied to men. In a stimulating article Cole (1992) discusses gender distinctions in Greek *leges sacrae*. These are more obvious in 'male' cults or in cults celebrating male characteristics. Her conclusion is that women were mainly excluded on the basis of the perception that female bodies possessed the ability to pollute others.

[174] Knibbe and Engelmann (1984) 143, refer to *I. Ephesos* 907 as a possible parallel ceremony to the one on record in *SEG* 34, 1184. The father of one of the boys mentioned in the latter inscription, Daphnos, figures in the former, a list of people who, according to Keil's restoration, ἐλευ[κοφόρησαν]. This list includes the names of *gerousiastai* and *chrysophoroi*.

[175] Cf. Engelmann (1994b), esp. 298. Engelmann points out several passages in the text that presuppose an intimate knowledge of topographical, political and religious circumstances. I am indebted to Henk Versnel for this important reference.

[176] Nenci (1979).

[177] During the festival at Andania (*LSCG* 65) a hierarchy was based on the distinction between initiates and hierophants; cf. Culham (1986) 243. Furthermore, in most cases of clothing regulations men and women were treated identically, whatever their status. In Andania places in the procession for sacred women and virgins were assigned by lot. Every opportunity for social distinction seems to have been excluded. Culham (1982), a

this particular context the sometimes elaborate dress-codes—restrictive and prescriptive—find their most logical explanation.[178] Aside from religious reasons for the prohibition to wear certain ornaments or clothes, social motivations may have played their part. Phyllis Culham uses Victor Turner's theory of 'communitas' to explain clothing regulations on religious holidays.[179] She argues that "there was an effort to suppress competition for status and to reinforce inward experience of communitas by creating visible, outward communitas."[180] It is not my impression that any garment of the specified colour would do, but that these were special clothes, maybe bought especially for the religious occasion. Of course, in the case of bigger cult centres this would imply a mass demand, and, indeed, big business. What would be more likely than that these special garments were on sale near the sanctuary in which they were actually needed? This hypothesis would explain the close relationship between textile workers and the cults of Artemis and Diana.

A procession to the temple of Diana at Aricia took place annually on the 13th of August (Ov. *Fast.* 3.270-6; Prop. 2.32.9-10; Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.55-60), but Aricia was a busy place the whole year round. The *clivus Aricinus* was famous for its beggars, and the latter may be assumed to congregate at places where visitors were a normal occurrence.[181] Processions at Ephesus are recorded in C. Vibius Salutaris' foundation and in Xenophon's novel *Ephesiaca*. Admittedly, we are not at all informed on the crowd-pulling effects of the temple of Artemis at Gerasa. The sheer size of its buildings and the outlay imply religious dealings on a grand scale. The official titulature of the workers in the four texts may be taken to imply that the sanctuary observed a great

study of the Roman *lex Oppia*, shows that similar devices to avoid status-competition were used in Roman religion.

[178] Obligatory clothing for worshippers is mentioned in the following texts: *I. Pergamon* 264 = *LSAM* 14 (3rd century BC); on the wearing of white clothes by the worshippers of Asclepius see Ael. Arist., *The Complete Works*, ed. C. A. Behr (Leiden 1981) 48, 30-1; cf. Behr 1968, 32; *CIG* 2715 a and b = *I. Stratonikeia* II, 1, 1101 = *LSAM* 69 (2nd century AD); for festivals in Stratonikeia see Lozano 1992; *LSCG* 163 (Kos; 2nd century BC); *IG* IX,2, 1109 = *LSCG* 83 (Koropè; 100 BC [see *RE* 22 (1922), sv, 1437-8]); *IG* XII,9, 194 = *LSCG* 93 (Eretria; 4th/3rd century BC). A recent addition is Le Roy (1986), cf. *SEG* 36, 1221 (Xanthos).

[179] Culham (1986), which was written as a polemical reaction to Mills (1984).

[180] Culham (1986) 243.

[181] For the *clivus Aricinus* as a resort for beggars, cf. Martial, *Epigr.* 2.19; 12.32. 10; Juv. 4.117.

amount of control on the production and perhaps shared in the profits.[182] In Pergamum the priest himself received a share of the proceeds of the workshops. It all adds up: major sanctuaries were crowd-pullers, worshippers were obliged to wear special clothes, workshops where the clothes were produced and sold may have been connected with the temples, during festivals markets were held, and processions drew massive crowds.

8. *Economic Indicators*

What conclusions can we draw from the evidence presented above with regard to the scope of the textile industry in the ancient world? We have to acknowledge the fact that we are dealing here with cities that have not been considered as 'producer' cities, nor have I attempted to label them as such. Do they, therefore, necessarily belong to the category of 'consumer' cities? The ideal type of the 'consumer' city shows its limitations to the full here. It is generally understood that a 'producer' city is an exporting city. A 'consumer' city necessarily also produces economic items, but the crux of the definition is that the population consumes whatever the city produces. The ideal type of the 'consumer' city does not allow for an external demand that was not subject to overseas export through long-distance trade, but was reliant on the high level of geographical mobility of ancient travellers. We have seen that certain major cults, with their festivals and processions, attracted numbers of worshippers. Since the cults in Aricia and Ephesus had a wide appeal (nothing is known so far about the Artemision in Gerasa), visitors from the whole Mediterranean can be expected to have arrived there. The commercial opportunities generated by this constellation may have been significant. If, by destroying *Ephesia grammata*, the missionary activities of Paul and his associates could cause damage amounting to 50,000 drachmas, the purchase of ex-votos, incense, sacrificial animals, consultation of the oracle etc. must have generated a great deal of prosperity.[183] Admittedly, this kind of activity can never

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182 In the case of Aricia, however, the temple was controlled by the municipal council of Aricia, cf. Giglione (1977) 71. Perhaps it is more than a coincidence that one of the texts mentions a slave working for the city-treasurer, who acted as *curator* of the corporation of the fullers (*CIL* XIV, 2156).

183 Cf. the specified regulations concerning the income of the cult in Andania (*LSCG* 65).

have provided a major stimulus for the whole of the ancient economy; we should regard it as a minor, but important (in the sense that religious piety was both a psychological need and a civic duty), economic factor.

The limitations of my argument will be immediately obvious. Various factors affecting the demand for textiles remain unknown. Special clothes for religious occasions will have had a very long 'life-span' because they were used only on important occasions. This suggests that the demand for such clothes would have been rather low. Moreover, many people attending a festival or visiting a sanctuary presumably brought their own clothes. There is no stipulation in any sacred law requiring that clothing should be bought at the indicated sites. These factors may have seriously reduced the commercial viability of the market. Nevertheless, the fact that traders settled near temples, that festival markets were organized where clothes were sold and the fact that in some cases the items were produced by workers directly connected with the temple, suggest that some pilgrims bought them at the very same spot where they fulfilled their religious duties. The possibility that these were a daily outfit rather than specific religious clothes seems to me to be spurious. The Isis-festival in Tithorea (Paus. *DG* 10.32.15 f.) lasted for three days. On the first day the temple was purified, the second day was reserved for the setting up of booths, stalls and tents for the traders. The third day was the day of the festival, the market and for sacrifice. The items that were traded suggest a specialized market in animals, gold, silver and clothes, thus directly catering for the needs of the event of worship.[184]

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[184] De Ligt and De Neeve's (1988, 404) summary of Pausanias' description fails to emphasize that the actual festival and the market took place on the same day, implying a deliberate congruency of interests, but cf. De Ligt (1993b) 78, where the emphasis is on the fact that the commercial dealings lasted only for the morning of the third day, whereas sacrifices were reserved for the afternoon. On the same page he describes local fairs as "the scene of lively trade in rural products (especially livestock), and also the occasion par excellence on which peasants spend part of their surplus resources on such luxury items as urban-produced cloth and ornaments." I would still like to offer the suggestion that at Tithorea part of the commercial transactions were used for the ritual ceremonies processed in the afternoon. Nemeth (1994) 61, is advocating the same idea: "Within the sacred area the retail dealers (kapeloi) played an important role. They sold dishes and other objects necessary for the sacrifice, as in the Hera sanctuary on Samos, and they traded in the saleable parts of the sacrificial animals, as at Didyma." Another important document in this respect is an inscription from Tegea which states that the religious officials (the hieromnemones) are to arrange everything with regard to the

Abbreviations

AE	*L'Année Épigraphique* (Paris 1888→).
BE	*Bulletin Épigraphique* (Paris 1938→); in *Revue des Études Grecques*.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1863→).
DizEp	E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane* (Rome 1895→).
ERC	M. Chelotti et al. (eds), *Le epigrafi romane di Canosa*, 2 vols (Bari 1990).
I.Ephesos	H. Wankel, R. Markelbach et alii (eds), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 8 volumes (Bonn 1979-1984).
I.Lindos	C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles et Recherches, vol. II: Fouilles de l'Acropole. Inscriptions* (Berlin 1941).
I.Magnesia	*Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, ed. O. Kern (Berlin 1900).
I.Pergamon	*Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, ed. M. Fränkel, 2 vols (Berlin 1890-1895).
I.Priene	*Die Inschriften von Priene*, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen (Berlin 1906).
I.Smyrna	G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, Teil II.1 (Bonn 1987).
I. Stratonikeia	M. Ç. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*, 3 vols. (Bonn 1981-1990).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873→).
IGR	R. Cagnat et alii (eds), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (Paris 1906-1927).
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin 1892-1906).
IRT	J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome 1952).
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955).
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969).
LSCGS	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Suppl.* (Paris 1969).
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. I-IX (London 1928-1988).
P.Oxy	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London 1898→).
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894-1972).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leyden-Amsterdam 1923→).

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merchandise (*IG* V, 2. 3 = *LSCG* 67, 26-7). This cannot but refer to the selling of items necessary for religious purposes.

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WRECKS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AS EVIDENCE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Fik Meijer

The social and economic history of the ancient world has benefited from increased scholarly attention since the 1973 publication of M.I. Finley's epoch-making *The Ancient Economy,* in which he advanced his thesis of a primitive economy. In Finley's opinion the ancient world differed fundamentally not only from the modern world with its industrial capitalism, but also from the merchant capitalism of the Middle Ages and the Ancien Régime. Trade, regional as well as interregional, played only an insignificant role due to the absence of interdependent markets. In the last three decades many historians have challenged Finley's notion. This is not the place in which to discuss the various positions taken up in this debate, for which the reader may refer to Harry Pleket's recent survey of the most influential schools of thought on the subject.[1] I would, however, like to register my view that archaeological data to do with international maritime trade, and in particular with wreck finds in the Mediterranean, are too rarely used in historical studies. Many data obtained from excavations of Greek and Roman wrecks have been published in the last two decades, and it is a pity that most historians have neglected these. I am not the first and I shall not be the last to argue that we should try to see the data provided by underwater archaeology against a wider background. To quote Hopkins, who has pointed out that shipwrecks are a good index of shipping, "The dated shipwrecks show that in the period of the Roman imperial expansion and in the High Empire (200 BC - AD 200), there was more sea-borne trade in the Mediterranean than ever before, and more than there was for the next thousand years."[2] We now have at our disposal Anthony Parker's catalogue *Ancient*

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1 Pleket (1990) 31–55.
2 Hopkins (1980) 106; Paterson (1982) 146–157.

Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces, wherein both the historian and the archaeologist will find many relevant data presented in an exemplary manner.[3]

At present underwater archaeology has less to say about Greek commerce than about Roman commerce, since most excavations so far have been of vessels from the period between 200 BC and 200 AD. Our data are subject to geographical as well as chronological bias, since most excavations have taken place in the western Mediterranean. The great majority of the Mediterranean wrecks in Parker's catalogue (844 out of 1159) are westerly: 428 off Italy, 282 off France and 134 off Spain. Only 84 wrecks were found off Greece, 19 off North Africa and 63 off Turkey.[4]

In this article I shall be presenting four case studies that will show how the data retrieved by excavating wrecks can be placed in a wider historical context. This approach is important to the history of ancient commerce because few literary sources deal with ancient trade. We might even say that most of the archive of ancient sea-borne trade is to be found at the bottom of the Mediterranean, in the shape of many wrecks and their cargoes.

The four case studies that I want to discuss here all relate to the Roman period, usually in the western Mediterranean. I hope to demonstrate that in some cases shipwrecks have confirmed or even added to the results of other historical studies. In other cases, however, they contradict the claims of research based on literary and other archaeological sources, and sometimes they can even force us to reconsider traditional historical wisdom. I am aware that my case studies do not all carry equal weight. Many more wrecks can be dated to the last century of the Roman Republic and the first century of the Roman Principate than to the third century AD, when the Empire was in decline.[5] Remarks about wrecks from the heyday of the Roman Empire are therefore currently of more validity than comments on wrecks from the period of crisis during the third century AD. Since wrecks are in my opinion very suitable controls for other historical

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[3] Parker (1992); Gianfrotta-Pomey (1980); Muckelroy (1980); Throckmorton (1987).
[4] Parker (1992) 7.
[5] Cf. Parker (1992) 549 and 5–9.

and archaeological data, however, I shall risk speaking prematurely in order to discuss them.

The four topics that I shall be discussing are:

1: The wine trade between Italy, Gaul and Spain from 150 BC to the end of the first century AD.
2: Oil and garum exports from Spain and Gaul to Rome during the first and second centuries AD.
3: North Africa's share of Rome's maritime trade.
4: The international marble trade.

1. *The wine trade between Italy, Gaul and Spain from 150 BC to the end of the first century AD*

We know from literary sources that Italian agriculture changed considerably from the second century BC onwards as a result of a massive reallocation of land, capital and labour and of the emergence of a new market.[6] The Second Punic War had wrought havoc and many farm owners had left their farms. If the original owners were unknown, these farms became public property. The same thing happened to land formerly owned by Roman allies who had collaborated with the enemy. Roman conquests in the Mediterranean world provided capital in the form of booty and labour in the form of slaves. Finally the urbanisation of Italy, the result of farmers fleeing the countryside and of voluntary or forced immigration from the provinces, created a new market.

The wealthy Romans who were the new owners of this agricultural land organised it into large capital-intensive farms. Although we would perhaps expect otherwise in view of Italy's increasing degree of urbanisation, their principal product was not wheat. The ranches in southern Italy were dedicated to animal husbandry, while the farms of Latium, Campania and Etruria concentrated on profitable cash crops such as wine and olives.[7] Increasingly, the wheat needed to feed Rome's growing population was imported from the provinces: first

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[6] See especially De Neeve (1984b).
[7] Contra Jongman (1988) 140.

from Sicily, later from Sardinia and Corsica, and from the mid second century onwards from North Africa as well. Olives and vines had always been grown in Italy, but they started to dominate the landscape only in the second century BC.[8] It is no surprise, therefore, to find the second-century BC author Cato the Elder reminding his readers that vineyards and olive farms are among the most profitable types of agricultural investment (*De Agricultura* I.7.10), giving the ideal dimensions of a vineyard, discussing investment capital and telling farm owners how to make the most effective use of their labour forces.[9]

Amphora finds allow us to trace the growth of viticulture in Latium, Campania and Etruria, as well as the export of wine to the western provinces. Fortunately the typology of amphorae, a science whose foundations were laid in 1879 by the German epigraphist Heinrich Dressel and which was later refined by Beltrán, Pélichet and Kapitän, continues to offer us an effective way of assigning a date and a place of origin to Roman amphorae.[10]

Before the mid second century BC, when Italian viticulture started to flourish, wine was mostly transported in Graeco-Italian amphorae. From the mid second century BC these relatively small, fairly thin, pear-shaped amphorae were replaced by wine amphorae of the more robust and elongated Dressel 1 type, which was particularly well suited to long and intensive use. The introduction of this type of amphora can be connected to the growing market for wine. The urbanisation of Italy created a strong home market for Italian wine producers. Ordinary people (autochthonous city dwellers, immigrants from the Italian countryside and urban slaves) drank ordinary wines, but the elite savoured the *grands crus*, the fine wines from the Ager Caecubus and the Ager Falernus. The new provinces, in particular Spain and Gallia Narbonensis, offered further excellent markets for Roman traders.[11]

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[8] De Neeve (1984) 75–78.

[9] Cf. De Neeve (1984a) 76–80.

[10] For a short survey of the development of amphora studies see Schuring (1984) and Peacock-Williams (1986).

[11] The growth of viticulture in Italy is extensively treated by Tchernia (1983) and (1986).

Finds of Roman Dressel 1 amphorae show that they were used in almost every part of Gaul and Spain. Maritime finds emphatically support this picture. The wrecks along the coasts of north-western Italy and southern France demonstrate the growth of the Italian wine export business even better than do the finds from the Gallic settlements.[12] A shipwreck is a kind of time capsule: we find a wreck just as it was when it sank, the cargo unmixed with objects from other periods. We could call each wreck a 'miniature Pompeii'.

A disproportionate number of these wrecks date from the second half of the second century or the first half of the first century BC. Of the wrecks belonging to this period, those of ships that were carrying wine amphorae alone exceed in number all the known first century AD wrecks of any type, including those of ships that were carrying oil and garum amphorae. This is remarkable,[13] since commerce was booming during the first century AD.[14] Hopkins, who based his conclusions on the 545 wrecks that were known in 1980, argues that we should not worry too much about this: "The number of dated wrecks found from the last two centuries BC is three times greater than in the previous two centuries. Surprisingly, it is also higher than the number found from the first two centuries AD. But the difference is absolutely and relatively small; it does not form part of a trend; the last two centuries were more marked by piracy and warfare than the later period; the difference may be due to chance."

Let us take a closer look at the amphora finds. In the hundred years that followed 150 BC not only did the number of shipwrecks increase, but so did the number of amphorae per wreck. This is illustrated by two wrecks found near the little island of Grand-Congloué. The earlier of these dates from about 200 BC; it appears to be that of a ship that was carrying only a few dozen Graeco-Italian amphorae. The wreck of Chrétienne-C (between Saint-Raphael and Cannes), which dates from the second quarter of the second century BC, contained some 500 Graeco-Italian amphorae.[15] These numbers are insignificant compared to the numbers of Dressel 1 amphorae that were transported from the

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[12] Cf. Parker (1980) and (1987).

[13] Parker (1992) 551, fig. 5.

[14] Hopkins (1980) 105.

[15] I follow Gianfrotta-Pomey (1980) 151–153; for the Chrétienne C wreck see Joncheray (1975).

mid second century BC onwards. The second wreck at Grand-Congloué, which went down in about 100 BC, was loaded with 1,700 Dressel 1 amphorae. The wreck of La Madrague de Giens (dating from about 70–60 BC) contained 7,000 amphorae and the Albenga wreck (about 80 BC) between 10,000 and 13,000. These are figures that suggest a huge export business and ships with a cargo capacity of between 350 and 450 tons.[16]

Tchernia has used the number of vessels excavated and their carrying capacity to estimate the volume of the wine trade with Gaul and Spain. He arrives at a figure of 60,000 hectolitres a year in the first half of the first century BC.[17] As Morley argues, however, the total volume must have been even greater, somewhere between 120,000 and 150,000 hectolitres a year, since Tchernia's estimate takes into account only those wrecks that have been excavated.[18]

These maritime finds help us to trace a marked shift in the pattern of trade in the western Mediterranean at the end of the Republic. The amphorae in the wrecks along the Spanish, French and Italian coasts have an unambiguous story to tell. The Italian Dressel 1 amphorae disappear and are replaced by Italian Dressel 2-4 amphorae and by local amphorae from Gaul and Spain.[19] The wrecks show us that Italian wine exports were on the decrease from the third quarter of the first century BC. This confirms the impression given by the various sites in Gaul, which also contain fewer Italian amphorae of this period. In comparison with the huge number of wrecks from the second and first centuries BC, and with the 44 wrecks of Late Republic ships capable of carrying thousands of amphorae, the mere ten wrecks from the reign of Augustus stand out sharply, and of these six went down at Tarraconensis in Spain.[20] Even if we accept that from the age of Augustus onwards wine was transported in dolia, huge containers that held at least 3,000 litres (of which a number were

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[16] For the Grand-Congloué wreck see Will (1979) 339–350, for the La Madrague de Giens wreck see Tchernia-Pomey (1978) and for the Albenga wreck see Lamboglia (1952).

[17] Tchernia (1986) 85–87.

[18] Morley (1996) 113.

[19] Panella-Tchernia (1994) 145–165.

[20] These data are taken from Tchernia (1986) 137.

found in the Grand Ribaud D. wreck),[21] Italian wine exports must still have been in significant decline. Tarraconensis was the first province to benefit from this decline, beginning by exporting wine to Gaul and later on shipping it to Italy (and to Rome in particular) as well. A few decades later Gallia Narbonensis developed its own viticulture, which expanded gradually. The Gauls got involved in the international wine trade during the latter part of the first century AD. Shortly afterwards the first native Gallic wine amphorae appeared in Rome. Here the Terme del Nuotatore at Ostia provide reliable information. More than 40% of the wine amphorae found in the layers from the years AD 70-140 are from Gaul; only 30% are from Italy, and fewer than 14% from Spain.[22]

The decline in the numbers of Italian wine amphorae found and the dominance of Gallic and Spanish wine amphorae are clear facts, but shipwrecks cannot tell us *why* the export trade in Italian wine dwindled. This has been the subject of much debate.[23] For a long time it was firmly believed that a serious crisis in Italian agriculture caused a drop-off in production not only for export, but also for the internal market. Italy's agricultural land was held to have fallen into the hands of a few big landowners who were satisfied with relatively small returns. Italy was thought to have fallen into a gradual decline.[24] There is, however, no proof that production withered in this way. One might expect Italy to have prospered during the early years of empire, once her civil wars and their associated dislocations had ended, with the Italian countryside able once again to reap the benefits of exemption from land tax.[25] This is indeed what seems to have happened. The fact that fewer Italian amphorae of this period have been found in the wrecks and at Ostia does not imply that no amphorae were transported to Rome, only that they were not transported by sea. Wine from estates near Rome was probably transported along the river Tiber or overland, leaving no archaeological traces. Tchernia has demonstrated

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[21] Hesnard (1988). The other wrecks are those at Garoupe, Diano Marina, Ile Rousse, Baratti and Petit-Congloué; for these see Parker (1992).

[22] Panella (1981) 68–69.

[23] See Purcell (1985).

[24] Roztovtzeff (1957), 19–22, 54–75, 91–105; Martin (1971) 257–310; Carandini (1981) 249–260.

[25] Garnsey-Saller (1987) 58.

that wine production rather increased than decreased. Rome and the other Italian cities had grown enormously, however, and wine production fell behind the gigantic demand. Rome in particular was a large consumer of wine. Her one million inhabitants (35 per cent of them children who did not drink wine) may have consumed between 1,250,000 and 1,800,000 hectolitres of wine annually, which implies that the average adult drank between 175 and 275 litres a year. Italian vineyards were no longer able to meet this enormous demand, and imports became necessary.[26]

We may conclude that shipwrecks are a fairly reliable source of information about Italian wine exports to Gaul and Spain. They have less to tell us about the wine trade during the first century AD, particularly where Rome is concerned, because many amphorae were transported over land. We can explain, then, why the number of ships that sank carrying wine amphorae clearly peaked in the years between 150 and 50 BC. Can we, however, also explain why *all* the shipwrecks from the early Principate put together (i.e. including those wrecks whose amphorae contained oil or garum) should be fewer in number than the ships that went down during the Late Republic? If we are to do this we will have to consider how oil and garum were transported during the first two centuries of the Principate.

2. *Oil and garum exports from Spain and Gaul to Rome during the first and second centuries AD*

During the last century of the Republic the Italian oil producers were able to meet the Roman population's demand for oil. There was a long-standing olive-growing tradition in central Italy, notably in Venafrum, on the border between Campania and Samnium, and in the Sabine hills. Apulia, in southern Italy, was another major exporting area, and other Italian regions were also suitable for growing olives.[27] During the Republic these areas were still exporting oil outside Italy, but this came to an end during the reign of Augustus. Fragments of amphorae from these areas show, however, that they were still sending oil to Rome at this time.

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[26] Tchernia (1986) 21–26, 85–87, 126–195; see also Purcell (1985) 13–15.
[27] Morley (1996) 149.

In the first and second centuries of this era Spain was a major supplier of olive oil. Her oil production was stimulated by the tax demands of the Roman state, whose main concern was the feeding of the populace of the city of Rome. Imports from abroad were necessary to supplement Italian production.[28] The growing political influence in Rome of Spanish aristocrats may also have been an important factor in the gradual increase in imports from Spain, and especially from Baetica. This influence had already started to develop by Julius Caesar's time, when the first Spaniards were accepted into the senate. The Spanish connection became more important under Claudius and Nero. During the Flavian emperors' rule (AD 69-96) senators from Gaul and Spain constituted 20% of the total number of senators, and during the reigns of Trajan (AD 98-117) and Hadrian (AD 117-138) this figure rose as high as 45%.[29] Spanish exports to Rome proceeded in tandem with this development, as is shown by the large numbers of Spanish Dressel 20 amphorae found in shipwrecks of the first and second centuries AD, as well as by the large quantities of Spanish sherds found in the various layers of the Terme del Nuotatore ('the swimmer's baths') in Ostia and the Monte Testaccio in Rome, the main economic records of Imperial Rome, which document the export of olive oil to Rome over a period of some 260 years. Each year about 55,000 amphorae containing 4,000,000 kg of olive oil arrived in Rome.[30] The inscriptions and stamps on what is left of these amphorae contain information about the plantations on which the olive oil was produced, the owners or managers of these farms, the figlinae and potters and the amphora merchants. This was obviously a well-organised trade in which large numbers of people were involved.

The trade in garum, a kind of fish sauce, is less well documented. Garum was not only popular in Roman kitchens, but was also used for medicinal purposes. Despite this popularity, there is little literary evidence of how the trade in it was organised, probably because garum producers were of low social status. It is clear, however, that during the late Republic Italy was self-sufficient in this respect. There

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[28] Morley (1996) 114.

[29] Whittaker (1985) 67.

[30] Blazquez (1992) 180. For the *Monte Testaccio* see also Rodriguez Almeida (1984). For the *Terme del Nuotatore* see Panella (1968 and (1973); Remesal-Rodriguez (1983) 95–98; Mattingly (1988) 43.

were small salted-fish factories in Velia, Pompeii and Thurii. Strabo (6.1.1) attributes the growth of that industry to the poverty of the soil in these areas.[31] In the course of the first century AD Italy became dependent upon imported garum, most of which was produced in Baetica.[32] Since we cannot rely upon literary sources our knowledge depends upon the sites at which Dressel 7-13 amphorae have been found. Unfortunately these finds, in particular those made in Ostia and in the wrecks, raise some questions.

It is commonly held that Rome imported olive oil more frequently than garum, as Strabo (3.2.6) and Pliny the Elder (*NH* 2.167) suggest, but this view is not confirmed by the Spanish amphora sherds from the Terme del Nuotatore in Ostia. Dressel 20 oil amphorae from Baetica are less common in the earlier Flavian layers than are the garum amphorae Dressel 7-13, which also come from Baetica.[33] The finds from the Monte Testaccio, which was close to the place where seagoing ships and river vessels were unloaded, present a different picture, however. More than 80% of this material consists of Dressel 20 oil amphorae from Baetica, suggesting that the Spanish oil trade was of great volume.[34]

The numerous finds of Dressel 7-13 *garum* amphorae alongside oil and wine amphorae in Spanish wrecks compensate for this lack of information.[35] Since wrecks with mixed cargoes of oil, wine and garum amphorae from Baetica have been found not only along the coasts of France and Spain but also near the Balearic islands and Corsica,[36] which implies that these vessels crossed the open seas, reasonably big ships must have been used to transport these cargoes from Spain.[37] It is likely that traders hired cargo space from a shipowner and filled it with oil, wine or garum according to demand. Pascual Guasch, who has investigated 57 wrecks from Baetica, counted more garum amphorae of the Dressel 7-13 type than oil

[31] Curtis (1991) 85–96.
[32] Curtis (1991).
[33] Panella (1981).
[34] Rodriguez Almeida (1984).
[35] See Curtis (1991) 59–61.
[36] Some of the best-known ones are the Chétienne B wreck at Antheor, the Titan wreck at Ile de levant, the Port Vendres wreck and some of those at the Spanish island of Cabrera, the Lavetti II wreck and the Tour Sainte Marie wreck.
[37] These wrecks are mentioned by Curtis (1991) 60–62.

amphorae of the Dressel 20 type. In his view, the trade in garum must have been greater in volume than the trade in olive oil.[38]

The fact that Italy remained largely self-sufficient explains why there are fewer wrecks from the Principate than from the Republic. It also explains why all the wine, oil and garum amphorae of that period put together are fewer than the Republican wine amphorae alone. We cannot as yet give any definite answer to the question whether oil or garum was Spain's main export product. Nor, however, can we ignore Pascual Guasch's important suggestions regarding the respective numbers of garum and olive amphorae found. Further wreck excavations must put his hypotheses to the test.

3. *North Africa's share of Rome's maritime trade*

In my third case study I shall argue that the picture assembled by excavating wrecks can sometimes contradict the results of traditional excavations on land. The maritime trade between north Africa and Rome in the third century AD is a particularly good example of this.

By the second century BC north Africa was already making an important contribution to Rome's food supply, the annona. Unfortunately underwater archaeology cannot tell us much about this trade during its early period, as vessels that carried perishable goods such as grain left few traces. We fare much better, however, with cargoes that were transported in amphorae. North African oil production did not achieve high volumes until well into the Principate. The Romans of the first century AD were not familiar with north African oil. Pliny (*NH* 105.2) implies that oil and wine production in this region was still of little significance, and Juvenal derides the quality of African oil (*Sat.* 5.88). From the beginning of the second century AD north African oil (and garum) production increased considerably.[39] The most important production areas were Tunisia, the Sahel region, the coastal hinterland of Sousse and ancient Hadrumetum (extending as far as El-Djem).[40] Mattingly has drawn our attention to the mass production that took place on north African

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[38] Pascual Guasch (1980).

[39] Mattingly (1988) 44–48; Mattingly-Hitchner (1995) 199.

[40] Mattingly (1988) 44.

estates. He estimates that a farm of c. 10 square kilometres would support c. 24,000 trees each yielding annually four litres of oil, giving a total of 96,000 kilograms. An area of c.100 square kilometres would produce nearly a million kilograms of oil per year. Some of this oil was traded locally and some exported abroad.[41]

By the end of the second century north Africa's oil exports had surpassed those of Spain and were continuing to grow, particularly during the third century, when areas further inland began to be used for growing olives as well.[42] A recent study of the African amphorae confirms that the volume of the north African oil trade was considerable. Stamps on amphorae found on the Monte Testaccio show that they originated in a number of African towns, often those that were not too far away from the coast, such as Hadrumetum, Leptus Minus and Sullecthum.[43] Until the fourth century the volume of Rome's imports of north African oil continued to increase considerably.[44]

One factor in the enormous growth in African exports during the third century was the decline of the Spanish export trade with Rome. Septimius Severus' decision at the beginning of the third century to place Spanish oil export under state control (SHA *Vita Severi* 12) is commonly regarded as having been an important factor in Spain's decline.[45] Free export declined sharply, as we can tell from Ostia's imports of Spanish oil. The number of wrecks also decreased, but not so markedly as one would expect. Traditionally it is believed that the exportation of Spanish oil in particular decreased so much during the third century that by the 250s it had all but disappeared. According to this view, the invasions of the Franks and other Germanic tribes and the destruction that these caused were merely the final blow. The author Orosius (41.2) is clear on this point: *Inruptae sunt Hispaniae, caedes vastationesque passae sunt.*

There is, however, evidence that this final blow may not have been quite so final as has been supposed. Firstly, amphora finds show that Baetica was still exporting reasonable volumes of oil after the middle

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41 Mattingly (1988) 45.
42 Mattingly (1988) 48–49.
43 Rodriguez-Almeida (1984) 270–271.
44 Whittaker (1985), esp. 51.
45 Rodriguez-Almeida (1984) 212–222; cf. Blazquez (1992) 184.

of the third century. Initially the traditional Dressel 20 amphorae disappeared from Rome and the Roman provinces, but finds in Rome and Cologne show that new Spanish amphorae (Dressel 23) appeared at this time. Workshops for the production of these amphorae that can be dated to the second half of the third century have been found at El Tejadillo (Alcolea del Rio) in Spain.[46] Secondly, research on the island of Cabrera, near Mallorca, has demonstrated that the export trade was merely interrupted rather than destroyed. One of the wrecks found there (Cabrera III), which can be dated to AD 257 because it contained a coin bearing a portrait of the emperor Valerian, went down carrying oil amphorae of Dressel types 20 and 23.[47] It seems likely, therefore, that the export of Spanish oil continued during the late 250s. Moreover, in spite of the measures taken by Septimius Severus these exports seem at this time to have been organised and financed in a way that had not changed very much since the mid second century AD. This, at least, is the excavators' argument, since 765 sesterces were aboard the ship when it sank in AD 257. They think it possible that the crisis of the third century began by manifesting itself more clearly in other regions of the Roman Empire, mainly in the east. According to this view Spain did not escape the crisis altogether, but was hit later.[48]

It would have fitted our picture nicely if the results from the north African shipwrecks had corresponded with the data from the Monte Testaccio, showing evidence of large oil and garum exports from north Africa. Although the wreck finds and the finds at Ostia and other places support each other's evidence with regard to Roman wine exports during the first century BC, however, here this is not the case. The number of north African wrecks is small by comparison with the total number of wrecks from the second and third centuries AD. Admittedly there have been few excavations along the coasts of north Africa,[49] but ships that went to Rome from the eastern parts of north Africa had to sail past Sicily and along the Italian coast; ships that came from the western parts of Africa either crossed directly to the

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[46] Blazquez (1992) 178–179.
[47] Bost (1992).
[48] Bost (1992) 207–210.
[49] Very few African wrecks have been published in detail; see Mattingly-Hitchner (1995) 202, note 369.

Balearic islands, Sardinia and Corsica, or kept close to the Spanish and French coasts. These are hardly areas that have been ignored by underwater archaeologists, yet Tortorella's study of north African wrecks indicates that by 1981 excavators had found the remains of no more than 21 ships that went down carrying north African amphorae over a period of 300 years.[50] This would seem to indicate that the rate of export from these regions was low. During the last ten years this picture has changed slightly: Parker's catalogue mentions many more wrecks containing African amphorae, but they are still less numerous than might be expected given the nature of the data from the excavations at Ostia. The discrepancy in number between the African amphorae found at Ostia and the African amphorae found in Mediterranean shipwrecks remains. More research is needed. We can only hope that research in deeper waters, such as that recently carried out in the Mediterranean between north Africa and Sicily, will provide us with data that will clarify the matter.[51]

4. *The international marble trade in the light of evidence from shipwrecks*

Finally, I would like to discuss the traditional view of the international marble trade within the Roman Empire during the first three centuries AD in the light of the material discovered in the wrecks of marble transport ships.

Marble was introduced to Rome in the second century BC.[52] Initially it was used mainly for building temples, paid for by the spoils of conquest, but in the first century BC marble began to be used for private buildings as well. It became an expression of the wealth and dignity of the upper classes. The members of the senatorial elite became great collectors of Greek art and imported marble for both public and private ends. From the moment when the first emperor, Augustus, boasted that he had found Rome in brick and left it a city of marble (Suet. *Aug.* 28.3), marble became indispensable to the Roman emperors' building policy. The second emperor, Tiberius, went one

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[50] Tortorella (1981) 335–380.
[51] McCann-Freed (1994).
[52] Jongste (1995) 28.

step further. His decision to confiscate all the marble quarries so that he could control their exploitation and the distribution of marble for public building projects[53] resulted in the institution of the *ratio marmorum*, the 'department of the marble trade'.[54] The inscriptions that were engraved on blocks and columns in the quarries, at the export centres and in the storage areas in the harbours all help to show us how the Roman emperors organised the exploitation of marble. They also demonstrate that this organisation was refined during the second century. The *ratio marmorum* developed into a many-branched organisation with a staff responsible for exploiting, trading and distributing marble all over the empire.[55] The stones were engraved with the name of Caesar in the quarries to indicate that they were imperial property. Sometimes we also find the name of the contractor or the imperial procurator (who was usually an imperial slave). *Redemptores marmorarii* shipped the marble blocks to harbours all over the Mediterranean on privately owned vessels. From these harbours smaller vessels or carts transported the marble to the building sites.[56] The emperors Trajan and Hadrian in particular invested huge sums in the extraction and transportation of marble. Some quarries, however, remained in private hands, and sometimes imperial quarries were leased out to private individuals. Both the state and private owners thus benefited from the revenues from the marble quarries.[57]

During the third century AD the *ratio marmorum* functioned rather differently. No imperial inscriptions on blocks and columns dating from after AD 235 have been found, probably because the emperors lost economic control of the quarries after the reign of Alexander Severus. This state of affairs continued until well into the fourth century, when Constantine's building policy created a new climate for the production and trade of marble.

The list of wrecks of imperial marble transport ships in Parker's catalogue does not support the notion that more marble was traded

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[53] Suet. *Tib.*49.2: *plurimis etiam civitatibus et privatis veteres immunitates et ius metallorum ac vectigalium adempta.*

[54] Ward-Perkins (1980) 23–69.

[55] Ward-Perkins (1980) 37.

[56] Ward-Perkins (1980) 23–69.

[57] Jongste (1995) 35–39.

during the first two centuries AD than in the third. The 23 wrecks listed are shown in the following table. Let us consider them more closely:[58]

Location	Dating	Cargo	Place of origin	Weight
Capo Taormina (Sicily)	Roman	Blocks and columns	?	90-100 ton
Capo Granitola (Sicily)	225-275 AD	Blocks	Proconnesos	350 ton
Capo Granitola (Sicily)	Late Antiquity	Capitals, Skirting-boards	Proconnesos?	?
Isola Corrienti (Sicily)	III-IV AD	Blocks	Proconnesos	350 ton
Giardini Naxos (Sicily)	III AD	Blocks and columns	Karystos and ?	95 ton
Marzamemi (Sicily)	200-250 AD	Columns and blocks	Egypt	200 ton
Camarina (Sicily)	175-200 AD?	Columns and blocks	Chemtou	?
Capo Cimiti (Sicily)	Roman	Columns	Karystos	?
Torre Chianca (Apulia)	mid III AD	Columns	Karystos	120 ton
S. Pietro (Apulia)	200-250 AD	Sarcophagi	Aphrodisias?	150 ton
Torre Sgaratta (Apulia)	180-205 AD	Blocks, columns, veneer, sarcophagi	Thasos and Asia Minor	250 ton
Punta Scifo (Calabria)	200-225 AD	Blocks, columns, capitals, bases, statues, basins	Asia Minor	> 150 ton
Capraia (Italy)	Roman	Blocks	?	?
Torre Flavia (Italy)	Roman	Columns	?	?
Santa Maria	Roman	Blocks	?	?

[58] See also Jongste (1995) 40.

(Sardinia)				
St. Tropez (France)	II AD	Columns, bases, architrave, veneer	Luni	200-230 ton
Cavlena (Croatia)	Roman?	Columns	?	?
Salakta (Tunesia)	early III AD	Blocks, pilaster, architrave	?	?
Sidi Ahmad (Lybia)	Roman?	Columns	Karystos	?
Lixouri (Greece)	Roman	Architectonic parts, statues	?	?
Sapienza (Greece)	Roman	Veneer	?	300 ton
Methone (Greece)	II-III AD	Sarcophagi	Assos	?
Methone (Greece)	Roman	Columns and amphores	Egypt	131,5 ton

It is striking that none of these 23 wrecks can be dated to the first century AD with any certainty, and only two or three of them to the second century, but that six can be dated to the third century. This discrepancy could be considered to be due to chance, given that so few wrecks have been found. It could also be asserted that the decline of the marble trade cannot have been as definite as scholars in general believe. In my opinion, however, we should look for another solution. If we take the socioeconomic conditions of the third century AD into consideration when interpreting the data in this table, a more reliable picture will appear.

It is not surprising that only a few wrecks of marble carriers of the first and second centuries AD should have been found, while more carriers of oil, wine or some other product seem to have gone down in the first century than in the third. An explanation can be found in the types of ship that were used as marble transports. During the first and second centuries the government depended for the transport of marble on private shipowners, from whom it hired ships of up to 300 tons. As there were plenty of private ships the state could afford to select only

those that met certain criteria, rejecting others. Public ships were used only in special cases, for example to carry exceptional cargoes.[59] We know a little more about one such ship. According to Pliny the Elder (*NH* 16.201), Caligula built an exceptionally large cargo vessel to carry an obelisk and its pedestal to Rome. The obelisk, now in St. Peter's Square, weighs 322 tons and the four sections of its pedestal 174 tons. "Nothing," writes Pliny, "more amazing than this ship was ever seen on sea." The pedestal sections were probably transported in the ship's hull, but the obelisk was carried on deck. The ship therefore needed ballast, which was provided by 800 to 900 tons of lentils. The total weight of the ship must thus have been greater than 1,300 tons. This ship made only one voyage. It was then filled with concrete and sunk to form part of the new harbour of Ostia.[60]

In the third century circumstances changed. With the exception of those from the Punta Scifo wreck,[61] the marble blocks and columns found in the wrecks from this period have no inscriptions. They must thus have come not from imperial but from private quarries. The owners of private quarries and those traders who persevered with the marble trade suffered from the economic decline that took place in the third century AD. They had trouble finding customers who were able to pay them the prices they demanded. Private entrepreneurs were, moreover, confronted with increasing risks. The state made no investment in the maintenance of the imperial fleets, the result being that these fleets gradually disappeared from the Mediterranean. Piracy once more became rife, turning trading expeditions into dangerous adventures. Since most ships were built 'shell-first', shipbuilding in antiquity was complicated and expensive,[62] and traders now ceased to invest in it. This created difficulties, especially where marble transports were concerned.

The high specific gravity of marble demanded purpose-built or at least specially reinforced ships of a sort that may no longer have been available. Traders probably had to use any ship that they could find. Some of these ships must have lasted many generations and been

[59] Pensabene (1972).
[60] Casson (1972) 188–189; Pomey-Tchernia (1978) 233; Hopkins (1980) 99.
[61] Pensabene (1997).
[62] See Hopkins (1983).

repaired many times, as had the Torre Sgaratta vessel, wrecked on the shore of Apulia with a cargo of 18 sarcophagi, 23 blocks of rough-cut stone and one huge column (approximately 160 tons in total). Six coins, all bronze, were found in the wreck. The best preserved coin, which is from Lesbos and bears the picture of the emperor Commodus, indicates that the ship went down at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century AD. The wood from which it was constructed, however, was much older and bore the traces of many repairs. Even signs of a process called 'boxing' in which new layers of planking were fastened over old ones were found. A C-14 analysis of the wood has given a radiocarbon date of 44 BC, with a margin of 79 years on either side. The vessel must therefore have been 250 years old when she sank.[63] The Torre Sgaratta ship is an exceptional case, but it may suggest why we have found more marble transport wrecks from the third century than from the first two centuries of the Roman Principate.

These are only four examples of how the data provided by underwater archaeology can force historians to reconsider their views. I am convinced that it will not be long before wreck excavations begin to offer historians even more. Consider, for example, the even more complicated trade in amphorae carried on in the eastern Mediterranean. Recent excavations in the Aegean have increased the likelihood that we shall soon have to rewrite the histories of both long-distance trade and interregional trade at this time. Much will depend on the historians, who will have to formulate the right questions to direct the archaeologists' research. Just as much will depend on the archaeologists, who must be prepared to refer to wider questions in their excavation reports. If we can achieve this, studies of ancient wrecks should henceforth receive rather more attention from historians than has hitherto been the case.

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[63] Throckmorton (1989) 263.

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THE DECAPOLIS: CITY TERRITORIES, VILLAGES AND *BOULEUTAI*[1]

Steven Moors

It is obvious that under the Romans as now any community, whether a city or a smaller settlement without the formal status of a *polis*, would have required some kind of socio-political organisation. Religious, judicial, social and economic affairs would have required regular attention. Even small settlements would have needed specific structures to facilitate the negotiation with neighbouring rural communities of water rights and rights to common pasture, or to maintain relations with the neighbouring *polis*, the provincial government and the army. Be that as it may, little effort has so far been made to explore the means by which the countryside was administered at this time. This chapter will focus on the administrative relationship between cities and villages in the area known as the Decapolis ("The League of Ten Cities," a region that included the southern parts of Roman Syria and the northern half of Arabia), paying close attention to the administrative organisation of villages. The Decapolis covers parts of what are now Jordan, Syria and Israel. The modern city of Damascus is here taken to mark its northern boundary and ᶜAmman (ancient Philadelphia) its southernmost limit. This area has produced abundant evidence relating to village government, and the study of this material offers an excellent opportunity to examine how villages attempted to cope with the internal and external challenges of political administration. The material ranges from a small number of official documents in Latin and a modestly sized but interesting group of Semitic (mostly Nabatean) texts to a substantial sample of Greek

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[1] This chapter is based on parts of my PhD thesis (Department of Ancient History, Leyden), written under the stimulating supervision of Harry Pleket and published in Dutch with an extensive English summary: Moors (1992) 509–25. I am grateful to J.M.C. Bowsher for allowing me access to his paper on Capitolias in advance of publication.

inscriptions. The study of village administration in this region is certainly not new, George McLean Harper's study of the character of village government in the Hawran and surrounding areas having been published as early as 1928.[2] Harper was attracted to the Hawran because it had produced a great deal of epigraphical material for an area of its limited size. Since 1928, and particularly during the last few decades, not only have many more texts been found in this region, but better readings of known inscriptions have made it possible to deduce from this corpus more detailed historical information concerning village government in the Decapolis. The present chapter will deal with a far greater area than was covered by Harper, although since the bulk of the texts found derive from the Hawran and its vicinity references to that area will inevitably predominate. In more recent years M. Sartre and H.I. MacAdam have studied the epigraphical evidence in more detail. The question of the status of villages in relation to *poleis* has formed an important part of their discussion. What was the usual status of villages? Were they dependent on cities (and if so to what degree?), or are we to assume that they were more or less autonomous? What kind of indicators can provide information about the status of villages and thus about the position of their leading officials vis-à-vis their municipal counterparts?

This issue is of some significance, since it will influence considerably our interpretation of the functions of the wide variety of village officials to be encountered in the Decapolis. My discussion will have a dual purpose. Firstly, I shall be commenting on the territorial (and administrative) relationship between certain *poleis* and the villages near them. Secondly, I shall be taking a closer look at the *bouleutes*, the prevalent type of official in this region, paying special attention to evidence relating to the countryside. An understanding of the territorial scope of the cities will be helpful in determining whether the villages were subordinate to cities or operated autonomously. We have three relevant sources of information at our disposal: city calendars, boundary stones and distance markers on milestones. Before we make any attempt to assess the usefulness of these sources, however, it is appropriate to take a closer look at the administrative nature of the whole of the area under consideration. Political changes

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[2] Harper (1928).

and administrative modifications over time make it necessary to examine the Decapolis' level of cohesion.

The Decapolis: a geographical and administrative entity

Pliny the Elder presents us with the earliest surviving list of all the Decapolis cities, although he is clearly aware of the lack of *communis opinio* regarding their 'official' number: *iungitur ei [Iudaeae,* SM] *latere Syriae Decapolitano regio, a numero oppidorum, in quo non omnes eadem observant* (...). Pliny lists the following cities: Damascus, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, Dion, Pella, Galasa (=Gerasa) and Kanatha (*HN* 5, 18, 74). Surprisingly enough he does not include Abila, although a bilingual inscription from Palmyra (*IGR* III 1057=*CIS* ii 3912) is independent evidence that Abila belonged to the Decapolis. Other literary sources, such as Flavius Josephus, the New Testament, Ptolemy and the fourth-century writer Epiphanius, create further confusion because their lists agree neither with each other nor with Pliny's.[3] The majority of modern scholars assume that the Decapolis consisted of the following cities: Hippos, Scythopolis, Gadara, Pella, Gerasa, Abila, Philadelphia, Kanatha, Dion (?) and Raphana (?). Capitolias, though situated in the middle of the Decapolis region, is not included; it is thought to have used a different city calendar that began in either AD 97 or AD 98. The possibility that Capitolias was 'refounded' at the end of the first century cannot be ruled out, although no epigraphical or other documentary evidence from this period has so far been discovered to support this theory.[4]

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[3] Mark. 5, 20; 7, 31; Matth. 4, 25; Jos. *Vita*, 65 (341); 74 (410); *BJ* 3, 446; Ptol. *Geogr.* 5, 15, 22; Epiph. *Adv. Haer.* 29, 7, 7; 30, 2, 7.

[4] The assumption that Capitolias had a municipal era beginning in either 97 or 98 is based solely on a city coin from the reign of Macrinus (217–8) "in the 120th year" (of the city calendar); cf. Wroth (1904) 278; Head (1911) 787; cf. Seyrig (1959) 66–7. The settlement's former Semitic name is unknown. On the basis of the archaeological data Lenzen and Knauf (1987) 24, argue that there is hardly any evidence for an urban settlement in the first century. This statement is mitigated by Bowsher (forthcoming), who concludes that the absence of epigraphical and documentary data suggests that it was a minor city. Archaeological evidence reveals that the city was flourishing by the late 2nd century, which is compatible with the arguments in Shraidah and Lenzen (1985) 292.

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE DECAPOLIS

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The political status of the Decapolis is uncertain. There is evidence to suggest that during the first century AD this area was regarded by the Roman government as a separate administrative unit or district within the boundaries of Roman Syria. A career inscription found in Thrace and re-examined by Benjamin Isaac shows that in around AD 90 it was being administered by a Roman knight.[5] Regional politics changed dramatically after 106, when the emperor Trajan incorporated the Nabatean kingdom into the Roman Empire, converting it into *provincia Arabia*, with its own provincial calendar starting from that year. A side effect of this new political arrangement was an administrative restructuring of the Decapolis: the southern part, including the *poleis* of Gerasa and Philadelphia, became part of Arabia, while the other cities were added to the neighbouring provinces of Syria and Judaea (Syria-Palestine) respectively. After 106 the Decapolis ceased to exist as a separate administrative unit.[6] Although the term Decapolis, with its suggestion of political and administrative unity, cannot therefore be applied to the region after this date, ***the term will be retained in this chapter to describe the cities and the countryside between Damascus in the north and Philadelphia in the south.*** This is appropriate because of the level of cultural cohesion between these cities in terms of language, political structures and religious practices. Above all, their common tradition of a Hellenistic ancestry dating back

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[5] *SEG* 31, 675, based on *I. Sestos*, 53; cf. Isaac (1981). The text gives the *cursus honorum* of an unidentified equestrian officer who at some stage during his career served in some capacity in the Decapolis: [ἡγησα]μένῳ Δεκαπόλεως τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ (b, 5–6). Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from his career. After serving as a recruitment officer in Thrace, he was transferred to Germania Inferior before the Dacian campaign of 88. In his capacity as a *tribunus militum* in the service of the provincial governor A. Bucius Lappius Maximus our Roman knight helped to suppress the revolt of the governor of Germania Superior, L. Antonius Saturninus, in 88/9. Lappius Maximus was thereupon rewarded with the important province of Syria, where he probably served until 94. A military diploma from the Bulgarian town of Suhozem mentions him as the Syrian *legatus Augusti pro praetore* (*AE* 1961, 319). Our equestrian officer followed in Lappius' retinue and was subsequently promoted to *praefectus* of the *ala II Pannoniorum*, which was stationed in Syria. When this *ala* was transferred to Moesia Superior, just before or in 93, its former commander stayed behind and was put in charge of the Decapolis. As the verb ἡγέομαι in a provincial administrative context can only be linked to an equestrian office, Isaac concluded quite plausibly that the Decapolis (as part of Syria) was governed by a Roman officer of equestrian rank in around 90: Isaac (1981) 70–1; cf. Gatier (1988) 169 n. 52; Bowsher (1992) 269.

[6] Lang (1978) 151; cf. Bowersock (1983) 92.

to Alexander the Great[7] and their use, from 64 or 63 BC, of the Pompeian calendar when dating inscriptions and coins make these cities stand out from other political units in the region.

Estimating the extent of municipal territories

We have at our disposal three possible ways of determining the extent of a *polis*' territory: municipal calendars, boundary stones and distance markers on milestones. In this section I shall test each category to see how reliable a source of information it is.

(a) *Municipal calendars*

A *polis* had certain prerogatives that a village did not have. One of these was the right to use its own calendar, whose date of introduction would relate to some historical or mythical event. As inscriptions from various parts of the Roman Empire illustrate, municipal calendars can be an excellent tool for determining the extent of a city's territory. Let us assume, then, that the entire *chora*, including all the villages within a city's territory, used the calendar of that particular *polis*. In theory this ought to give us a detailed breakdown of territorial and administrative divisions. Moreover, it should tell us something about the status of the villages in that area: if a village used a certain city era that village was probably subordinate to the *polis* in question; if not, the village was probably autonomous. In principle this looks like a neat way of reconstructing the Decapolis' administrative organisation. In practice, however, the method presents serious problems. In all the Decapolis cities the city era was based on Pompey's re-organisation of the province of Syria. In some cities (such as Hippos, Scythopolis and Gadara) the era began in 64 BC; in others (Pella, Gerasa) it began in 63 BC. In yet others (Abila, Philadelphia and Kanatha, for example) it remains impossible to decide between the two dates. The demarcation of the boundaries between municipal territories therefore raises a number of problems. Further confusion is created by the fact that Bostra's calendar and the Arabian provincial calendar were identical, a

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[7] Cf. Sartre (1991) 336.

fact that makes it difficult to distinguish a municipal area from provincial territory. Furthermore, certain *poleis* had their own calendars that had come into existence when emperors such as Philip the Arab and Maximian, who originated from Philippopolis and Maximianopolis respectively, elevated the villages in which they were born to the rank of *poleis*. Three case studies, Capitolias, Hippos and Kanatha, will illustrate the problems involved. These cities have been selected for two reasons: they had their own calendars and additional information about the extent of their territories exists in the form of boundary stones.

Capitolias (Beyt Ras). This *polis* used its own municipal calendar, unlike the other cities of the Decapolis, which used a calendar based on the date of Pompey's re-organisation of the province of Syria. Theoretically this should help us to distinguish its territory from the surrounding area. It appears, however, that only one text from Capitolias can be related directly to its calendar: ἔτους κατὰ κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως κε' (25), that is 121/2 or 122/3.[8] The dating of this text depends on whether the calendar is deemed to have been introduced in 97 or in 98. Our problems are compounded by the fact that the city has been excavated poorly.[9] For example, we know that Capitolias was a bishopric from the fourth until the sixth century, but no church has yet been discovered there.[10] Capitolias must actually have been one of the smallest cities in the area. Schumacher recorded a wall circuit of about 680 metres, enclosing some 20 hectares.[11]

The tomb of L. Domitius Maior, which was found in the village of Irbid, approximately 5 kms. to the south of Capitolias, bears the words ἔτους ιε' (15) κατὰ κτίσιν τῆς πόλε[ως κτλ.].[12] Due to the short distance between Capitolias and Irbid and the damaged state of the text one is inclined to date this inscription according to Capitolias' *polis* calendar, that is to 111/2 or 112/3. This may, however, be incorrect, since

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[8] Allen (1885) 202–3, no. 25. Allen suggests that the date may have been added later, but the grounds for this suggestion are unclear. It seems certain that the number refers to Capitolias. The Irbid/Beyt Ras project, which began in 1983, has not so far produced any relevant new documentary material; cf. Lenzen and Knauf (1987).

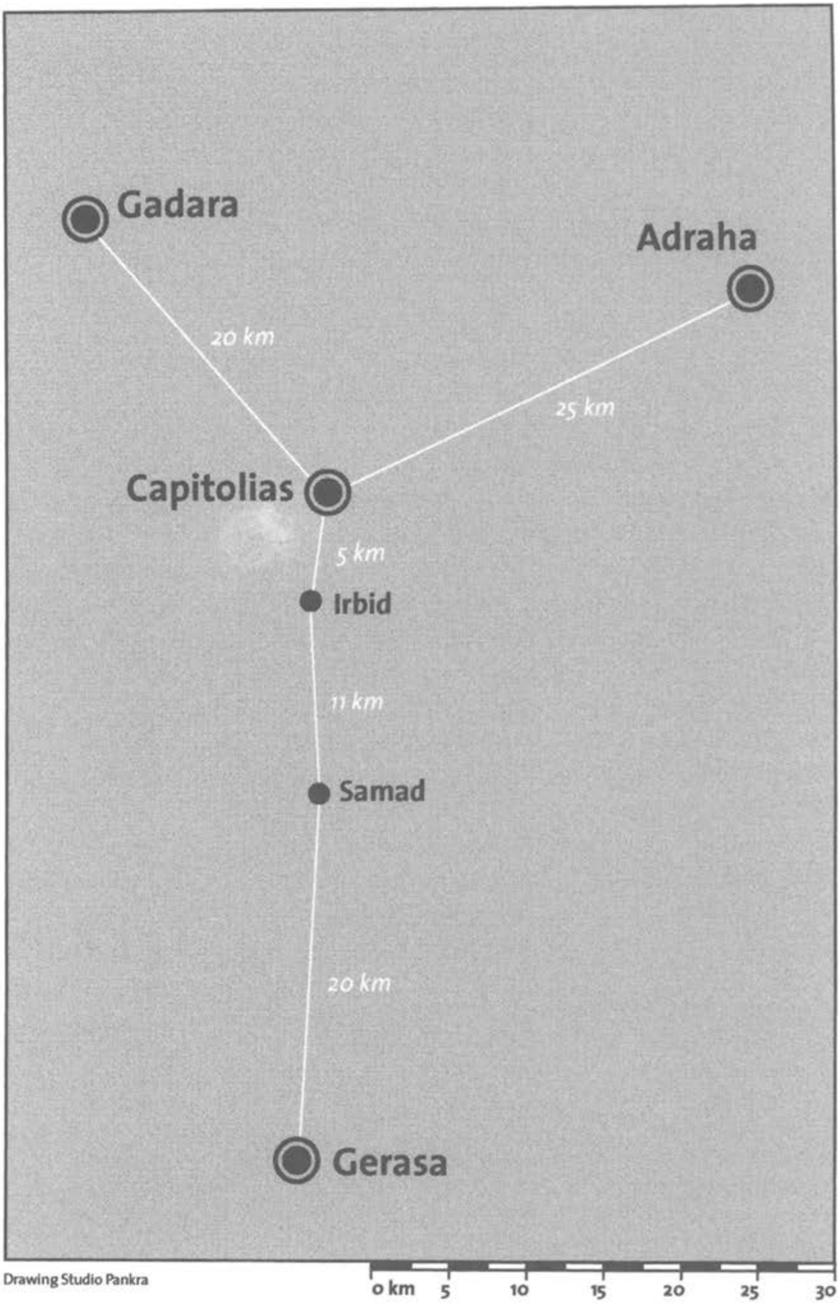
[9] Bowsher (1992) 269, 276 and n. 63.

[10] Lenzen and Knauf (1987) 31.

[11] Bowsher (forthcoming).

[12] Allen (1885) 203, no. 26.

CAPITOLIAS



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another text found close to this village is dated according to the provincial Arabian calendar. This inscription was found in 1904 "near" what was by then the town of Irbid, the seat of the local governor at that time. Bowsher states that the designation "near" may be used to describe any reasonable distance and could even suggest a location such as Adraha, approximately 25 kms. northeast of Irbid.[13] If we accept this suggestion the information contained in this text must be considered irrelevant to our purposes. In my opinion, however, the expression "near the town of Irbid" implies a site that is closer to Irbid than to Adraha. The text mentions the construction of a building or wall (?) as part of the local defences "in the 133rd year", ἐπισκοπευόντων three βουλευταί and one συνβουλευτής and this διαταγῇ Φλ(αουίου) Οὐήρου, during M. Domitius Valerianus' governorship of Arabia.[14] Valerianus appears again in this part of the Empire in a building inscription from the reign of Gordian III (238–44), as is shown by a text of 239/40 from Bostra.[15] Flavius Verus (as ἀρχιτεκτῶν (ἀπὸ στρ(ατειῶν)) also appears in other sources from this area, being mentioned in connection with the construction of defensive works in Adraha (e.g. *IGR* III, 1287; *SEG* 16, 809; *SEG* 16, 810 and possibly *SEG* 16, 814) during the reign of Gallien (253–68). It would therefore appear that the inscription from Irbid that mentions M. Domitius Valerianus should be dated according to the provincial Arabian era or to Adraha's municipal calendar (?), i.e. to 238/9. Both the use of the provincial era and the mention of the provincial *legatus Augusti* are in this context incompatible with what we know about the western part of the Decapolis (which includes Irbid) during the second and third centuries. It is especially peculiar to come across a non-Pompeian dating system in a village that one would naturally be inclined to assign to nearby Capitolias. Ecclesiastical sources give no hint that Capitolias might have been part of the province of Arabia before the sixth century. Capitolias is always listed as a bishopric within the province of Syria Palaestina or Palaestina II; its bishops are listed under Palaestina at the councils of Nicea (325), Chalcedon (451), and Constantinople in the 6th century.[16] Legionary recruitment

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[13] Bowsher (forthcoming).
[14] Whicher (1906) 289–93.
[15] *IGLS* 9057; cf. Sartre (1982a) 91, no. 35; Bowersock (1983) 162.
[16] Sartre (1982a) 70; Bowersock (1983) 91; Millar (1994) 214.

also tells us something about Capitolias' provincial affiliation from the fourth century onwards. The soldiers known to have come from Capitolias served with legions based in, or temporarily associated with, Judaea from the second century onwards.[17] It should therefore be concluded that there were no administrative ties between Capitolias and nearby Irbid and that the latter formed no part of Capitolias' tèrritory. This means that the construction of the tomb of L. Domitius Maior should be dated to 120/1, according to the Arabian or municipal Adrahan (?) calendar.

A text from the village of Samad, some 11 kms. to the south of Irbid, contains the words ἔτο<υ>ς ρλζ' (137), Ἀκυλῖνα Ἀκύλου ἐτῶ(ν) κ' (20). Θάρσι (*SEG* 36, 1380). In commenting on this text, Knauf argued that it was dated according to the provincial Arabian calendar (242/3)[18] and proceeded from this assumption to argue that Samad belonged not to Palaestina II but to Arabia. Without more data, however, it is impossible to establish which dating system this text used. We cannot even rule out the possibility that the Pompeian calendar, which was used in Gerasa, was used here as well.[19] This would give us a date of 74/5. In other words, the evidence that is currently available does not permit us to determine Samad's administrative and territorial status.

If indeed the village of Irbid, only 5 kms. away from Capitolias, did not come under that city's jurisdiction, then the provincial boundaries between Arabia and Palaestina II must be sought somewhere between Capitolias and Adraha. This means that the extent of Capitolias' territory to the south must have been very limited. Its western edge may have touched on Pella's territory, while the northernmost part of its boundary may have been shared with Abila and Gadara. Any further conclusion lacks proper foundation. Finally, we may add the comments of Lenzen and Knauf. With regard to the meagre archaeological remains retrieved from Capitolias and its immediate vicinity they remark that it "may be suggested that these (...) were villas and/or farmsteads which controlled the area both in terms of economic development and in terms of defense".[20] The case of

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[17] Bowsher (forthcoming).

[18] Knauf, in Piccirillo (1986) 343.

[19] Samad is approximately 20 kms. from Gerasa and 16 kms. from Capitolias.

[20] Lenzen and Knauf (1987) 25–6.

Capitolias is salutary, showing that if a site has not been excavated properly *poleis*, together with their surrounding rural settlements, can on occasion barely be distinguishable from mere villages.[21]

Hippos (Susita). The western edge of Hippos' territory was probably formed by the Sea of Galilee (cf. Jos. *Vita* 42). This natural barrier must have seemed to the Romans an attractive dividing line between city territories. Moving northwards we reach the village of Khisfin, some 17 kms. to the northeast of Hippos. An inscription on a mosaic from this village gives us some useful information about the extent of Hippos' territory (*SEG* 26, 1676). The city itself used the Pompeian calendar (beginning in 64 BC). The Khisfin text is dated "in the month of July during the 7th indiction of the 667th year", that is, 604. The information provided by the text rules out the possibility that Khisfin was using a different dating system. It must therefore be concluded that Khisfin formed part of Hippos' territory. The same goes for el-ᶜAl, a village 9 kms. to the northeast of Hippos. Here a funerary text was found that refers to a veteran of the *legio I Parthica Severiana*. This inscription is dated "in the 289th year", which can only be 226/7 (*BE* 1952, 172). The epithet identifying the legion may serve as a plausible terminus post quem.[22] Khisfin's dependent status suggests that the whole area west of the Nahr Ruqqad probably belonged to Hippos. The northern boundary of Hippos' territory touched on the municipal territory of Paneas/Caesarea Philippi (Banyas) as well as on an area in which the Seleucid or provincial Syrian calendar prevailed, i.e. an area that originally belonged to *provincia Syria*. An inscription from el-Quneytra, some 35 kms. to the north of Khisfin, is dated 461/2 according to the municipal calendar of Paneas (*SEG* 7, 249, with the commentary). A Christian text from the same village may be dated 569/70 according to the same calendar.[23] Resuming our tour of Hippos' territory, we reach the village of ᶜAqrabeh, approximately 33 kms. northeast of Khisfin. The inscriptions in both ᶜAqrabeh and the neighbouring village of el-Mujeydil are dated according to the Damascene (κατὰ Δαμασκοῦ) or Seleucid calendar, which functioned

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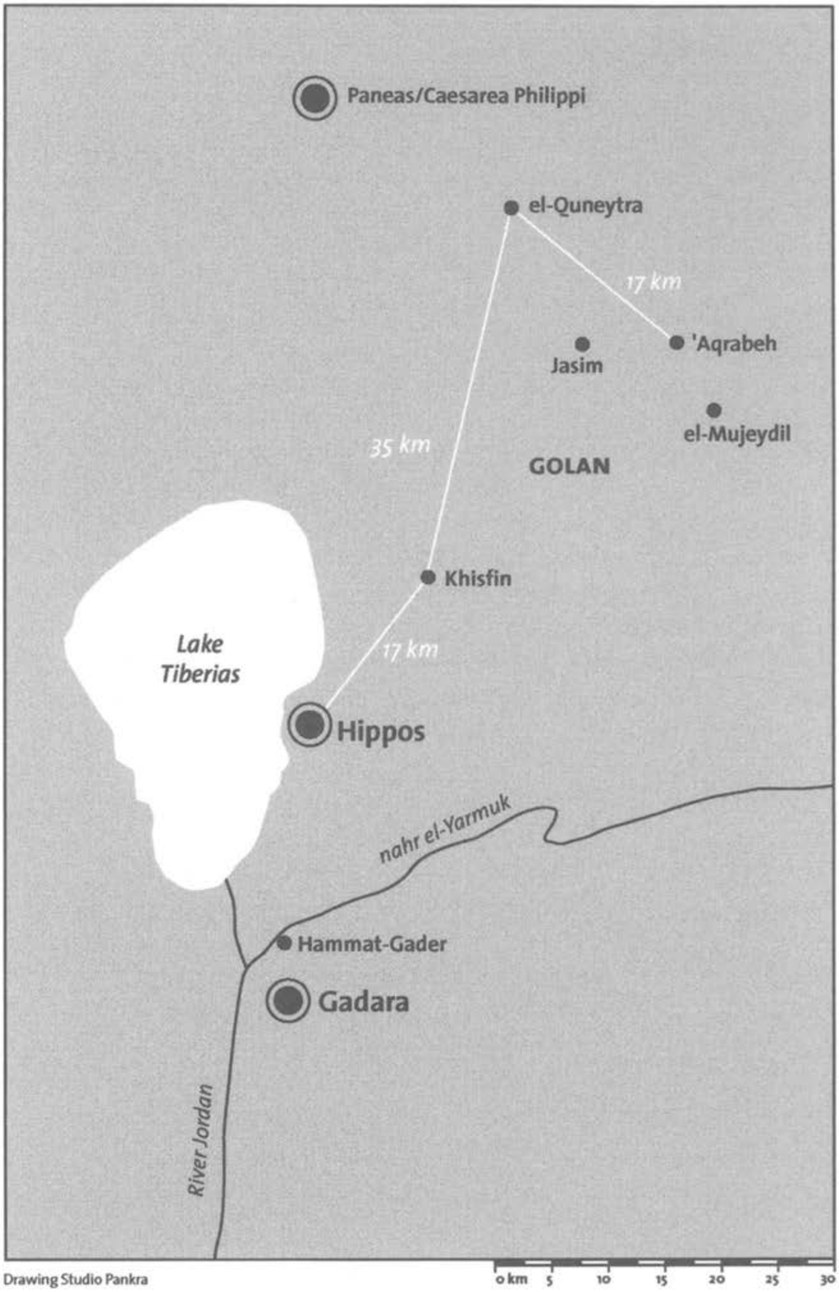
[21] Cf. Grainger (1995) 180–182.
[22] Cf. Speidel (1983) 118–21; (1984) 53.
[23] Jaussen and Vincent (1901) 573, no. 13.

HIPPOS



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as the provincial Syrian calendar.[24] It seems possible, however, that nearby Jasim, like Hippos, belonged to Arabia and not to Palaestina. An inscription from this village contains an unambiguous reference to a provincial governor of Arabia, Flavius Antonius Hierokles.[25] As Jasim is further west than ᶜAqrabeh, it would appear that this region was transferred to Arabia in the middle of the fourth century. This agrees with what we know about the extension northwards of Arabia's original frontier.[26]

In the case of the region to the east of Hippos this meant a transfer of territory from Syria Phoenice to Arabia. In many places the prevailing (provincial Syrian) dating system was nonetheless retained, even into late Antiquity. The villages of el-Quneytra and ᶜAqrabeh are 17 kms. apart. At some point within the more or less equilateral triangle formed by these villages and Khisfin, three separate Roman provinces (Palaestina, Syria Phoenice and Arabia) converged. In other words, it must be assumed that the territories of Hippos, Paneas and an otherwise unspecified part of Arabia met here. Turning south, one would at first be inclined to expect the southern border of Hippos' territory to have coincided with the river Yarmuk, which (geographically speaking) also acts as the southernmost limit of the Golan. An inscription from the famous health resort of Hammat-Gader, on the northern bank of the Yarmuk, however, seems to show that this assumption would be incorrect. This text is dated according to the Pompeian calendar of the *polis* of Gadara (Umm Qeys; *SEG* 30, 1687; cf. *SEG* 32, 1501; 36, 1348). The spa must therefore have belonged to Gadara, which means that the latter's municipal territory did, surprisingly, extend across the river. In sum, then, the extent of Hippos' territory cannot be established with any degree of precision, but it is obvious that a number of villages in the Golan must have belonged to it. We will deal with these in due course, when we come to examine boundary stones as a means of reconstructing the administrative divisions within this part of the Decapolis.

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[24] ᶜAqrabeh: Wright and Souter (1895) 52, no. 30; el-Mujeydil: Clermont-Ganneau (1884) 267–9.

[25] Dunand (1950) 158, no. 353; cf. Sartre (1982a) 102, no. 64; Kotansky (1991) 56; 57.

[26] Moors (1992) 205–209; 218.

Maximianopolis (Shaqqa^c^). Before this settlement was elevated to the rank of *polis* at the end of the third century by the emperor Maximian it was known as Sakkaia, as various inscriptions show (e.g. *SEG* 24, 1519, dated 27 May 238). One of these, from the city of Philippopolis (Shohba), only 8 km from Sakkaia/Maximianopolis, was set up by the *Sakkaiotai* in honour of the emperor Marcus Iulius Philippus Arabs in the early forties of the third century (*SEG* 38, 1662). Sakkaia was still a mere village then and can be assumed to have belonged to Philippopolis. It also seems reasonable to assume that Sakkaia's change in rank when it became Maximianopolis was at the expense of Philippopolis' territory. At the end of the third century both cities, which had formerly belonged to Syria, became part of Arabia. It is difficult not to conclude that even when Sakkaia was still a village it was already outshining neighbouring Philippopolis. To begin with, many more inscriptions were found at Shaqqa^c^ than at Philippopolis. What is more, the records of soldiers and veterans of the Arabian *legio III Cyrenaica* that these texts contain and the Roman dating formulae that they use suggest that Shaqqa^c^ was a military stronghold[27] (cf. e.g. *SEG* 24, 1519). It is also worth noting that during this period, when still only a village (in other words, before its elevation to city status in the forties of the third century), Sakkaia already had its own theatre: πρὸ ζ' Ἰδῶν Μαρ(τίων) πέπτωκεν τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιστοίλιον καὶ ὄχλου γενομένου τῆς κώμης ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ [---] (*IGR* III 1192). Its elevation to the rank of city implies that at this time it acquired its own territory. It also attained the rank of *colonia*, as might have been expected (Wad. 2139). Before we review the extent of its territory, it seems appropriate to determine more precisely when Sakkaia was elevated to its new status. In order to do this we must survey the 'dated' epigraphical evidence. We know of five dated inscriptions that call Maximianopolis a city:

(1) ἔτους τῆς πόλ(εως) οα': the 71st year of the *polis* (Wad. 2145; cf. *SEG* 20, 398).

(2) [ἔτ]ους τῆς (πόλεως) σο' (?): the 207th (?) year of the *polis* (*SEG* 7, 1003).

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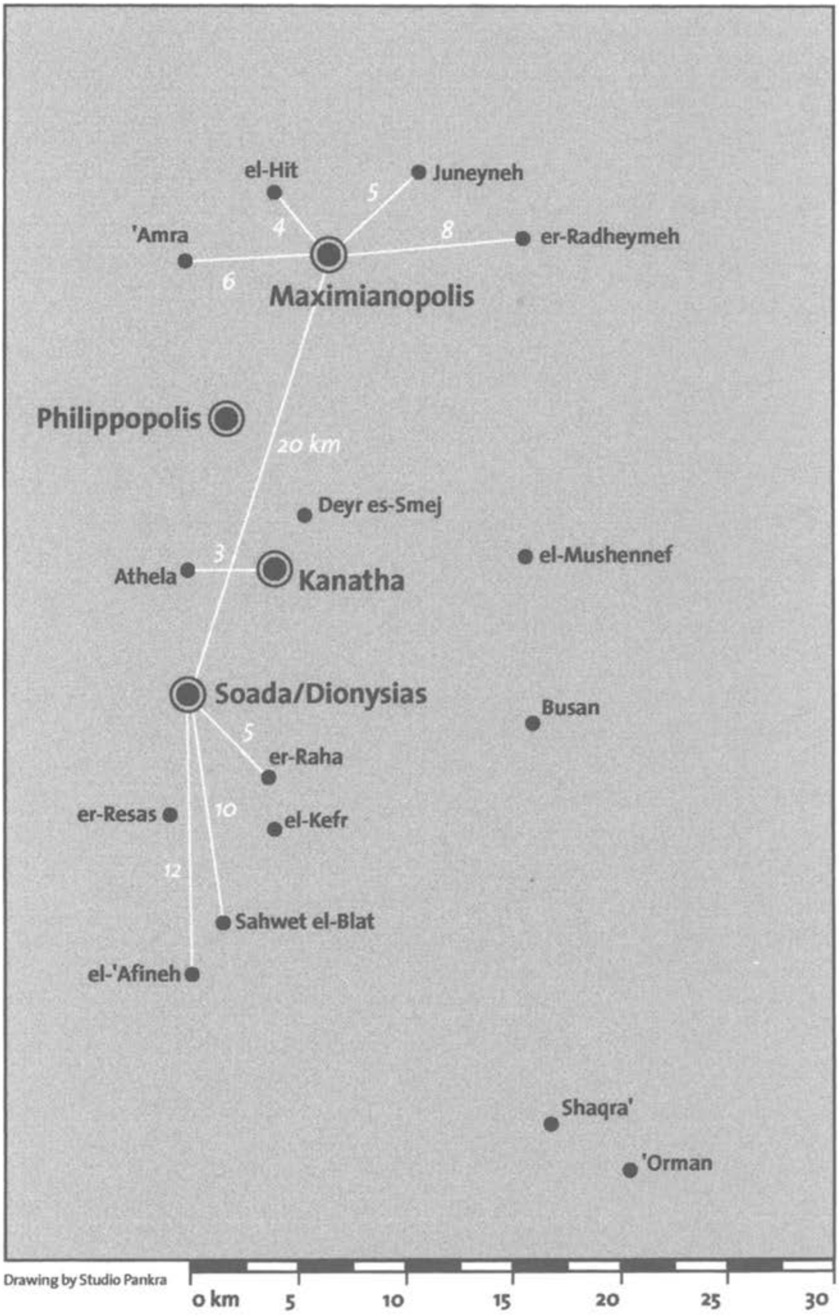
[27] *IGR* III 1190; 1193; *AAES* III 369; *SEG* 7, 1025.

MAXIMIANOPOLIS - PHILIPPOPOLIS - DIONYSIAS



(3) ἔτ(ους) τ(ῆς) π(όλεως) τ’: the 300th year of the *polis* (*AAES* III 377).

(4) ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπριλίου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ’, ἔτους τῆς πόλ(εως) τι’: in the month of April, during the 14th indiction of the 310th year of the *polis* (Wad. 2159).

(5) μηνί [---], ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ς’, ἔτ(ου)ς [τῆς π]όλ[εω]ς υι’/υη’: in the month of [---], during the 6th indiction, of the 408th or 410th year of the *polis* (*SEG* 7, 1009).

We also have four texts from this *polis* that are dated according to its calendar but do not contain the word *polis*:

(6) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε’, ἔτους σξγ’: during the 15th indiction of the 263rd year (Wad. 2158; cf. *SEG* 35, 1792).

(7) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ’, ἔτους φξη’: during the third indiction of the 568th year (Wad. 2161).

(8) ἐν μ(ηνὶ) ’Οκτοβ[ρίῳ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) --], ἔτου[ς --]: in the month of October, during an unknown indiction of an unknown year (Wad. 2160a).

(9) ἐν μ(ηνὶ) ’Ιουλίου, χ(ρ)ό(νοις) ε’ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), ἔτους [---]: in July, during the 5th indiction of an unknown year (*SEG* 7, 1024).

Robert has argued that Shaqqa^c could as well have been named after M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus as after C. Galerius Maximianus.[28] These two were appointed Caesar in 285 and 293 and promoted to Augustus in 286 and 305 respectively. A boundary stone between the territories of the city of Maximianopolis and the village of Orela (Juneyneh) acts as a terminus ante quem for the elevation of Sakkaia to the rank of city, since it refers to Maximianopolis as a *polis*.[29] This stone probably dates from around 298, the time at which, as we shall see, the Syrian and Arabian territories were reorganised for fiscal reasons. The elevation of Sakkaia must therefore have taken place before 298. This suggests that Galerius cannot have been the eponymous founder: “S’il s’agit de l’époque où Galère était César, peut-on penser qu’une ville a reçu son nom de Maximien César

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[28] Robert (1960) 313 n. 2.

[29] Boundary stones will be discussed in the next section.

(Galère), alors que son homonyme était Auguste?".[30] By combining the municipal calendar with the indictions, A.H.M. Jones has deduced that Maximianopolis' new municipal calendar must have been introduced in either 287 or 302.[31] Robert did not check Jones' calculations;[32] had he done so he would have noticed that nothing in them warrants Jones' conclusions. There is in fact no connection at all between the municipal calendar and the indictions, as texts 4, 6 and 7 (see above) demonstrate. Text 4 is dated "in April, during the 14th indiction of the 310th year of the city". If Maximianopolis attained the rank of city during the period 287–302, the 310th year of the city must have fallen between the years 596 and 613. Within this period only the year 610/11 corresponds with the 14th indiction. This implies that 300/01 must have been the year in which the new calendar was introduced. Text 6 is dated "during the 15th indiction of the 263rd year". On the same assumption, this gives us a date between 549 and 566; the mention of the 15th indiction tells us that this must have been year 551/2 of the municipal calendar. This would imply that the calendar was introduced in 288/9. Text 7 is dated "during the 3rd indiction of the 586th year", and must therefore be dated between 854 and 870; the fact that the 3rd indiction is specified points to the year 869/70 of the city calendar. If we deduct the number of years mentioned in the text we will find that the new calendar must have started in the year 301/2. Three inscriptions from the same place thus give us three different dates for the introduction of the municipal calendar. If we return to look again at the other dated inscriptions from the *polis* it will appear that only the year 286 fits in every case.[33] This would mean that text 4 was dated April 595. There is a slight problem with text 6 in that the date and the indiction do not match. A solution may be found in Wetzstein's *editio princeps*.[34] This reads the indiction

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[30] Robert (1960) 313 n. 2.

[31] Jones (1971) 464 n. 82; cf. Sartre (1991) 331, who argues that the city calendar started in 287.

[32] Robert (1960) 314 n. 1.

[33] Koder (1992) 79–81, came to the same conclusion after assessing the epigraphical evidence from Maximianopolis. It should, however, be pointed out that Koder and Restle seem to have made a minor mistake. *SEG* 7, 1018, which contains the phrase ἐτῶν λ' (30), is a funerary inscription giving the age at death of a certain Moaieros rather than a date according to the municipal calendar.

[34] Wetzstein (1863) 257, no. 88; cf. also Koder (1992) 80.

not as the 15th, as Jones would have it,[35] but as the 12th, giving us a date of 548/9. If we apply the same method to text 5 it will be observed that only the reading "the sixth indiction of the 408th year" is possible. This, however, would give us a less likely date in the seventh century and consequently the published reading must be doubted. The same goes for Waddington's reading of text 7: indiction and date are incompatible. Moreover, a date in the ninth century seems highly unlikely. If we assume that Maximianopolis' new calendar was introduced in 286, the texts must have been dated as follows: (1) 356/7, (2) 555/6 (?), (3) 585/6, (4) April 596, (6) 548/9.

Now that we have established the year in which Shaqqa^{c} was raised to the rank of city, we may direct our attention towards the relationship between that city and the surrounding countryside. From el-Hit, a village approximately 4 kms. from the city, comes a Christian inscription dated "in March of the 249th year" (Wad. 2124). It concerns the building of a *hieron Sergion*, a sanctuary in honour of Sergius, one of the most "popular" Christian martyrs in Syria.[36] Since Syrian and Arabian references to this Sergius relate to the 6th century, it is very unlikely that this inscription ought to be dated according to the provincial calendar (354/5). It seems more plausible that it should be dated in accordance with Maximianopolis' local calendar, giving us a date in the sixth century: 534/5. This would mean that the village of el-Hit could safely be assigned to Maximianopolis. Unlike the el-Hit inscription, texts from the nearby villages of ^{c}Amra and Radheymeh, the former 6 kms. and the latter 8 km from the city, are dated according to the provincial Arabian calendar (295/6 and 349/50 respectively).[37] These villages were therefore not part of Maximianopolis' territory, which suggests that this may have been rather small. This suggestion seems to be corroborated by a boundary stone from the close of the third century (between 293 and 305) that was found a few kilometres outside the city (*SEG* 7, 1055). This stone,

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[35] Jones (1931) 273 n. 15.

[36] Cf. Sartre *apud* IGLS 9125. Cf. Shahîd (1984) passim, for Sergius as patron saint of the Ghassanids.

[37] ^{c}Amra: Wad. 2081; Radheymeh: *SEG* 7, 1062. We also have a boundary stone from the latter village (*SEG* 7, 1063), but it is too badly damaged to provide any useful information; cf. Sartre (1992) 126, no. 11; Moors (1992) 272, no. 20; Millar (1993) 544, no. 36.

which marks the boundary between Maximianopolis and the village of Orela, was clearly erected after Maximianopolis attained the rank of city. What are the implications of this text for our views on the extent of Maximianopolis' and Orela's territory? There are two alternatives. It is possible that the boundary stone testifies to a territorial division within the municipal territory of Maximianopolis, which would imply that Orela was subordinate to Maximianopolis. It is also possible that it marked the boundary between two independent territories. In that case, Orela must be seen as an autonomous village. Within this context reference should be made to a second boundary stone from the vicinity of Radheymeh, some 8 kms. east of Maximianopolis (*SEG* 7, 1063). This stone is damaged and we cannot exclude the possibility that it may have borne the toponyms of both ancient Radheymeh and Maximianopolis. As we will be dealing with boundary stones and their implications for the territories of cities and villages in more detail in the following section, it suffices here to state that the present epigraphical evidence gives the impression that Maximianopolis' territory was small.[38] Not a single reference to its municipal calendar was found outside the city itself, and the discovery of boundary stones in the immediate vicinity of the city precludes the idea that its territory could have been at all extensive.[39]

(b) *Boundary stones*

In 287 the emperor Diocletian decreed important fiscal reforms that resulted, amongst other things, in a cadastral restructuring of the Decapolis.[40] Some twenty-five boundary stones are testimony to this operation. All of these stones were erected in the years between 293

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[38] The mention of two (or more) village toponyms (with no reference to Maximianopolis) implies nothing regarding the *status* of the villages concerned. Compare the case of the boundary stone from the village of Ghabaghib, north-west of the Leja^{c}, on which three local villages are named for the first time. Sartre (1992) 119–24, no. 4.

[39] More could have been said here about the demarcation of the territories of *poleis* such as Pella, Gadara, Gerasa, Philadelphia and Bostra, but since it is impossible to deal with all these cities in any detail I have chosen instead to look into three cases that illustrate how difficult it is to determine the extent of city territories on the basis of municipal calendars.

[40] Carrié (1994) 36.

and 305,[41] but Seston, followed by Sartre,[42] has dated them more particularly to the year 298. One text that records the boundary between Dionysias (es-Suweyda^c^) and the village of Athela (^c^Atil) should probably be excepted, since it refers to the Sebastoi but not to their Kaisares (*IGR* III 1278).[43] This is an indication that the stone must be of earlier date, probably before 293. Most of the boundary stones discussed below come from the Golan, the vicinity of Lake Huleh, the Bashan, the Nuqra^c^ and the Hawran. In my discussion I shall on occasion support my arguments by referring to boundary stones from other areas.

Within this sample by and large two types of inscription can be distinguished. The texts in the first category record the toponyms of the territories demarcated together with the names of the various κηνσίτορες (censitores) who were in charge of the cadastral survey under the authority of Diocletian and his fellow-rulers. As an example of this type of inscription we can cite part of a text found in the fields west of Kibbutz Lehavot ha-Bashan in the Golan (east of Lake Huleh). After giving the names of the tetrarchs, the stone reads: λίθον διορίζοντα ἀγροὺς [κώμ]η[ς] Δηρας κὲ Ωσεας στηριχθῆνε φροντίδι Αἰλ(ίου) Στατούτου τοῦ διασημο(τάτου) (*SEG* 18, 621). The officials in charge of this operation were Marius Felix (given the epithet ππ κηνσίτωρ),[44] Lucius and Acacius (no rank mentioned) and Flavius (?) and Agelip(p)us (no rank mentioned).[45] The second category of inscriptions is just an abbreviated and simpler version of the first. Here no officials are mentioned, just the toponyms. The inscriptions could

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[41] Kubitchek (1899) 1902; Alt (1955) 177.

[42] Seston (1946) 284 n. 3; 374; Sartre (1982a) 66; (1993) 128.

[43] Cf. Sartre (1992) 126–7, no. 12; Millar (1993) 544, no. 37.

[44] The abbreviation ππ can be resolved in two ways, either as π(ριμι)π(ιλάριος) or as π(ραιπόσιτος) π(άγου). See below, footnote 130.

[45] It is worth noting that the rank of the *censitor* Aelius Statutus is never mentioned. Time and again his name is found merely combined with the epithet *diasemotatos* (*vir perfectissimus*). By contrast, his fellow-*censitor* Iulius Sabinus, whose activities in the limestone massif east of Antioch are amply documented, is said to have been a *lamprotatos* (*vir clarissimus*). It is, however, doubtful whether this apparent difference in rank should be seen as significant. Cf. Alföldy (1981) 193: "Somit dürfte feststehen, daß auch noch in jener Epoche, in welcher sich die Rangtitel egregius—perfectissimus—eminentissimus—clarissimus zu einer offiziellen Rangtitulatur festigen, mit diesen Titeln kaum unterschiedliche, sondern vielmehr gleichermaßen respektbezeugende Vorstellungen über das hohe Sozialprestige einer Spitzengruppe in der Gesellschaft verknüpft waren".

also be divided into five types according to whether the boundary stone demarcated the territories of two or more villages, designated the territory of a single village, a metrokomia or a temple from a nearby polis, or marked off an estate from its surroundings (whether village, polis or province).[46]

The most important thing about boundary stones, from the point of view of this chapter, is how much they can or cannot tell us about the extent of territories: "question peu clair," as Villeneuve put it.[47] Let us begin with a fragmentary text from Fiq, a village about 5 kms. east of the city of Hippos.[48] Although it is no longer possible to identify the places designated by the toponyms mentioned, this stone must have served to mark off an otherwise unknown parcel of land, whether a village, a temple compound or an estate, from the surrounding area. The text is significant in that it is evidence of the demarcation of a certain area within the boundaries of Hippos' territory. Whatever the status of this plot, in other words, it came under the jurisdiction of Hippos. A similar observation can be made with regard to the demarcated areas near Kafar Haruv or Kfar Harib,[49] a village a few kms. south of Hippos.[50] Sartre has demonstrated convincingly that both texts are from Kafar Haruv.[51] Only one village toponym can be read with some degree of certainty. Though none of the three other toponyms can be read, it should be assumed that both stones referred to designated territories within the municipal area of Hippos. Comparable material referring to village territories demarcated within municipal areas is to be found in the northern part of Syria, which was carved up between cities whose territories were clearly large, such as Apamea, Emesa, Palmyra and Antioch.[52] As Seyrig has shown, the

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[46] The idea that *censitores* were linked to a specific provincial area can no longer be maintained; cf. Sartre (1992) 128.

[47] Villeneuve (1985–1986) 80.

[48] Germer-Durand (1899) 21–2, no. 26; *IGR* III 1542.

[49] As is often the case, the modern toponyms of the villages in this area differ very little from the original names; thus Καιφαϱ Ηαϱιβ (Kafar Haruv), cf. Denzer (1991) 37; cf. Rey-Coquais (1993) 139–40 for other Syrian examples.

[50] Two boundary stones are at issue: (1) *SEG* 28, 1426; Millar 1993: 540, no. 20; (2) *SEG* 40, 1469; Millar (1993) 540, no. 21.

[51] Sartre (1992) 129 n. 67.

[52] Three boundary stones demarcate the city territories of Palmyra, Emesa and Apamea respectively. A stone (dated to 153) from Khirbet el-Bi^{c}las, 70 kms. northwest of Palmyra, illustrates the *fines regionis Palmyrenae* (*IGLS* 2550). Another

extent to which the Antiochene (=Caesarian) calendar was used in Antioch's eastern hinterland suggests that Antioch's municipal territory must have amounted to ca. 6,000 or 7,000 km^2,[53] an area some four times the size of the entire Decapolis! Seyrig's arguments are, however, based solely on the distribution of the Antiochene calendar, completely disregarding the boundary stones found in this region even though it is precisely the combination here of a fair number of boundary stones demarcating village territories with the ubiquity of the municipal calendar that is so enlightening. It should be stressed that the mention of village toponyms in inscriptions of this type does not automatically imply that these villages were outside the city's territory. To put this more positively, if, having already a fair idea of the extent of a city's territory from independent sources, we come across a boundary stone naming two or more adjacent villages, we may assume that these villages were part of that city's territory. In these cases we are of course dealing with villages that were subordinate to the city to whose territory they belonged.

A substantial number of boundary stones (7) have come to light in a fairly limited area of the western Golan, the fields of the kibbutzim Shamir and Lehavot ha-Bashan. Even though all the stones from this area give village toponyms, none of these can be identified for certain. Some information about their territories can, however, be gleaned from the way in which the toponyms relate to each other. The

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stone from the same village records the boundaries of the *regio Palmyrena* and those of Emesa and Apamea (*IGLS* 2549). Khirbet el-Bi^clas is 80 kms. from Emesa and 120 kms. from Apamea. The third stone, which came from the Harbaqa oasis and was later re-used in the nearby *qasr* of el-Heyr el-Gharbi, records the following information: *fin[es] inter Hadriano[s] Palmyrenos et Emesenos* (*IGLS* 2552). The distance from this *qasr* to Palmyra is approximately 60 kms.. In other words, the western boundary of Palmyra was probably about 60 or 70 kms. from the city. These stones had, amongst other things, a clear economic purpose, as described by Teixidor (1984) 10: "(...) dans l'expression *fines regionis Palmyrenae* employée par le texte, le mot *regio* a le sens de «territoire d'une cité» et le bornage avait pour but de contraindre les marchands à payer des taxes sur le traffic des marchandises". A number of references to this can be found in the famous bilingual Tariff of Palmyra of AD 137, e.g. *CIS* ii 3913 ii, 2–3: "the tax collector will request 22 *denarii* per person from importers of slaves, to be imported into Tadmor or into its territory". For the extent of Apamea's territory, cf. Balty (1981) 56–60.

[53] Seyrig in Tchalenko (1953–1958), III: 6, *apud* no. 7; cf. Liebeschuetz (1972) 68–73; Jarry (1988) 129.

following combinations are found: Galania and Rame,[54] Galania and Migerame,[55] Migerame and Galania,[56] Dera and Kapar [M]ige[rame],[57] Dera and Osea,[58] and Osea and Perise.[59] Although Aharoni's account of where the stones were found is rather vague,[60] it appears that they came from an area of roughly 10 by 6 kms.. The territories of these five or six villages must therefore have measured on average 10 or 12 km^2 each. The only other village that offers us a similar insight into the size of its territory is Umm er-Rumman (ancient Remmona), some 12 kms. southwest of the capital of *provincia Arabia*, Bostra. The following inscription was found at es-Summaqiyat, some 20 kms. from Umm er-Rumman: κόμης Ρεμμωνα πόδ(ες) ζκ' (= 7.020 feet = 2.300m.).[61] This suggests that its size must have been about 16 km^2, which seems rather large for this densely urbanised area. Umm er-Rumman undoubtedly belonged to the territory of Bostra, which implies that the stone marked the village off from the city.

It has already been said that the northern limit of Hippos' territory (which also served as the southern border of adjacent Paneas) must be sought somewhere in a rather large 'unknown' region between Khisfin and el-Quneytra. The villages in the Golan could, then, have belonged to either Hippos or Paneas, or they could have been autonomous. The territorial structure of the eastern Antiochene region makes it clear that both options are feasible. Unfortunately, we have no additional evidence regarding the Golan that would enable us to solve this problem. We can only put forward the conjecture that Galania, (Kapar) Migerame/Rame, Dera, Osea and Perise were either autonomous villages or, if subordinate to a city, belonged to Paneas. The latter argument is based partly on the simple observation that they are much closer to Paneas than to Hippos. The stones were, moreover, found at the same latitude as el-Quneytra, which belonged to Paneas. From Khirbet el-Mathaneh, half an hour's walk from el-Quneytra, comes a boundary stone that records the dividing line between the villages of

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[54] *SEG* 19, 903; Millar (1993) 542, no. 31.
[55] *SEG* 16, 822; Millar (1993) 540–1, no. 24; cf. Rey-Coquais (1993) 141.
[56] *SEG* 16, 823; Millar (1993) 541, no. 25; cf. Rey-Coquais (1993) 141.
[57] *SEG* 18, 620; Millar (1993) 541, no. 27.
[58] *SEG* 19, 901; Millar (1993) 541–2, no. 29.
[59] *SEG* 19, 902; Millar (1993) 542, no. 30; *SEG* 18, 621; Millar (1993) 541, no. 28.
[60] Aharoni (1955) 109–114; (1959) 152–64; (1961) 186–7.
[61] *PAES* III 66; cf. Dussaud (1927) 361 with notes 5 and 6.

Sarisa and Berenike.[62] Aharoni identified ancient Berenike with modern el-Quneytra, which seems reasonable enough, since no alternative has presented itself.[63] As Berenike/el-Quneytra was inside Paneas' territory, it could be conjectured that both villages were dependent. Indisputable proof of this is, however, lacking.[64] The same can be said of the villages of Mamsia and Beth Achon, whose names were found engraved on a stone from the vicinity of Ma^{c}ayan Barukh, a few kms. west of Paneas.[65] Although the territories of these villages were demarcated, they were subordinate to a polis, recalling our findings in the limestone massif of northern Syria. Once again we see that demarcation by means of boundary stones can tell us nothing about the administrative status of these villages. Sartre comes to a similar conclusion: "je ne suis pas sûr que la conclusion ne dépasse pas les prémisses. Il est en fait certain que les villages formant la chôra d'une cité conservaient leurs limites propres pour des raisons fiscales, juridiques ou autres".[66] Let us take this view as our point of departure as we turn to discuss two boundary stones from the Hawran that offer specific information about the boundaries between villages and cities.

The first text we are going to discuss comes from a stone erected by the censitores Lucius and Acacius between the village of Orela and the territory of Maximianopolis (Shaqqa^{c}).[67] Orela may be identified with modern Juneyneh; the distance between the latter and the ancient site of Maximianopolis is only 5 kms.. The second text comes from the area between the city of Dionysias (es-Suweyda^{c}), approximately 20 kms. southwest of Maximianopolis, and the village of Athela. The stone bearing the text, which was discovered outside Dionysias,

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[62] Dalman (1913) 249–50, no. 1; Brünnow (1914) 151; Aharoni (1955) 111, no. 5; cf. Rey-Coquais (1993) 141.

[63] Aharoni (1955) 111 n. 9.

[64] Cf. *SEG* 32, 1459. See Millar (1993) 540, no. 23 for the boundary between Paneas and the Πανεῖον (the sanctuary of Pan) and Aharoni (1955) 111, no. 4 for the marker on the boundary of the ἀγροὶ ἐποικίου Χρησιμιανου. Both stones come from the area to the west of Paneas. Cf. a stone from the village of Jaber, or possibly Sameh (between Bostra and Adraha), that divided off the *ager privatus* of a certain Aurelianus from the surrounding *ager fiscalis*, the ἐν[γ]έον [τ]αμιακόν: *SEG* 17, 760; 18, 617; cf. Villeneuve (1985–1986) 114–5, with n. 121.

[65] *SEG* 16, 821; 28, 1452; Millar (1993) 541, no. 26.

[66] Sartre (1981) 355.

[67] *SEG* 7, 1055 (incomplete); Sartre (1992) 125–6, no. 10; Millar (1993) 543–4, no. 35; cf. Denzer (1991) 39; 113.

records the border between Dionysias on one side and Athela on the other.[68] Just to complicate matters, there was a third polis, Kanatha or Kanata (el-Qanawat), between Maximianopolis and Dionysias and only 3 kms. from Athela. Maximianopolis and Dionysias were separated from the villages on their territories by fairly short distances (5 kms. on average). We must now ask an important question: what was the administrative status of Orela and Athela in relation to their neighbouring poleis?

Jones and Bietenhard have concluded that Orela and Athela were independent villages.[69] They argue that the marking of a village as separate from a neighbouring *polis* by means of a boundary stone was significant and proceed from this to the conclusion that neither village can have been part of a municipal territory. To strengthen their case, both scholars draw a comparison with the administrative arrangements in the immediate vicinity of Damascus. For information concerning these they rely on a number of boundary stones found a stone's throw from the city (near the modern villages of Dereya,[70] Jermana,[71] and Jisrin)[72] that marked off separate village territories.

I, however, would prefer to compare the position of these villages with the geographical and administrative arrangement of the area east of Antioch. In my view the territories of these villages were inside and not outside the municipal area of Damascus. It is an advantage in the case of Antioch that we can rely on the Antiochene calendar, whereas the fact that Damascus' calendar was identical with the provincial Syrian one is a major drawback. Since the epigraphical sources from these villages use both, the way in which they are dated cannot help us to determine the villages' juridical status, whether dependent or independent. In other words, it is misleading to liken the cases of Orela and Athela to seemingly similar examples from around Damascus. Jones' and Bietenhard's arguments are flawed because they are circular: the argument that Orela and Athela were autonomous and

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[68] *IGR* III 1278; Sartre (1992) 126–7, no. 12; Millar (1993) 544, no. 37. Unlike the texts on other boundary stones, the Athela–Dionysias text gives only the names of the *Sebastoi* Diocletian and Maximian and not those of the *Kaisares* Constantius and Maximian. This is a clear indication of an early date, probably before 293.

[69] Jones (1931) 274; (1971) 287–288; Bietenhard (1977) 234.

[70] *SEG* 7, 248; Aharoni (1955) 111, no. 6; Millar (1993) 317; Rey-Coquais (1993) 141.

[71] *PA* III 331; Aharoni (1955) 111, no. 7; Millar (1993) 317; Rey-Coquais (1993) 141.

[72] *SEG* 7, 247; Aharoni (1955) 111, no. 8; Millar (1993) 317; Rey-Coquais (1993) 141.

outside the territories of Maximianopolis and Dionysias[73] leads to the conclusion that the territories of these *poleis* were very small, which assumption is then put forward as an argument for assigning to each *polis* an even smaller territory.

It has already been suggested that the village of el-Hit, 4 kms. northwest of Maximianopolis, should be considered to have belonged to the latter's territory. Unfortunately, we lack specific evidence about the size of that territory. The case of Dionysias is slightly more promising. In 105/6, when this part of the Hawran still belonged to the province of Syria, the village of Soada was embellished with a nymphaeum by the neighbouring city of Kanatha. At the same time measures were implemented to guarantee a constant water supply from several perennial sources in the hills of the Jebel Druz. These measures are attested to by two inscriptions (probably identical) from the village of el- ^{c}Afineh[74] that refer to water being supplied 'to Kanatha': ἀγωγὸς ὑδάτων εἰσφερομένω[ν] εἰς Καν[α]τα. Nine such texts retrieved from three villages (el-^{c}Afineh, er-Raha and Sahwet el-Blat) between 5 and 12 kms. from Soada describe the construction of water mains from the Jebel Druz to Soada.[75] Sartre has argued quite persuasively that the words εἰς Κανατα in the el-^{c}Afineh text should be translated as 'to the territory of Kanatha' rather than 'to the *polis* of Kanatha' for the simple reason that Kanatha is higher up in the mountains than el-^{c}Afineh, whereas Soada is much lower. This expression, in other words, is "une manière de dire qu'elles servaient à arroser les terres de la polis sans avoir à citer tous les villages qui en bénéficiaient puisqu'ils faisaient tous partie de la chora civique".[76] It also seems reasonable to assume that the clean mountain water was piped off to the nymphaeum in Soada rather than used to irrigate the Nuqra^{c}, the plain west of the Jebel Druz. Kanatha itself had in any case sufficient water at its disposal, as another inscription shows.[77] An additional argument against the city of Kanatha as the water's destination lies in the fact that even though quite formidable geographical obstacles such

[73] Cf. also Villeneuve (1985–1986) 80.

[74] (1) Wad. 2296–2297; *IGR* III 1291; (2) *SEG* 7, 979, cf. Denzer (1991) 113–4.

[75] Sartre (1981) 353–4. Cf. Sartre-Fauriat (1992) 146.

[76] Cf. also MacAdam (1986) 73 n. 93; Braemer (1988) 134–5; Moors (1992) 236–41; Sartre-Fauriat (1992) 147–8.

[77] For Syrian and Arabian aqueducts, cf. Sartre (1991) 321–2.

as wadis would have had to be crossed there are no traces of aqueducts in the area. It may perhaps be assumed that the construction of the nymphaeum was part of an elaborate plan to urbanise Soada and settle the local nomads into a sedentary existence along a section of the main route between Damascus and Bostra in order to give Rome more control of the area.[78] Whatever the motivation of the Roman authorities may have been, however, Soada was promoted to the rank of city and became Dionysias at some time between 149 and 184.

Another text from the nymphaeum contains further information about Soada's development. The most important part of this text reads: ἡ πόλις τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀγωγοὺς Αρρων, Καιναθων, Αφεταθων, Ορσουων ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ κατεσκεύασεν, καὶ τὸν ναὸν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν Αρροις σὺν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἀνέστησε, ἐπισκοπούσης φυλῆς Σομαιθηνῶν.[79] The inscription's date is given as the eighth year of Commodus, during the governorship of Domitius Dexter; that is, 183/4. One is immediately struck by the fact that new sources of water had been tapped: Soada is now being supplied with water not only by Orsua (er-Resas), but also by Kanatha. This is entirely in accordance with the laws of gravity by which water does not flow upwards. Given that water was flowing from Kanatha to the nymphaeum of a *polis* whose identity remains unknown and that a nymphaeum has been discovered in Dionysias, there can be little doubt that the city in question was Dionysias. It also follows that the indigenous tribal organisation of the φυλὴ Σομαιθηνῶν must have been converted from a civic unit that was part of the municipal structure of Kanatha into a tribus of Dionysias.[80] The same applies to the φυλὴ Βιταιηνῶν. In

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[78] Cf. Sartre-Fauriat (1992) 147–8. Cf. also MacAdam (1986) 73, who connects Soada's elevation to become the city of Dionysias with the construction of the road across the Leja[c] plateau during the 60s of the 2nd century, as recorded in the milestones along this track. The route passed by ancient Kanatha but touched upon Soada/Dionysias. MacAdam's view is, however, completely dismissed by Grainger (1995) 180–182. The foundation within a mere 150 years (circa 180–320) of four new *poleis* (Dionysias/es-Suweyda[c], Philippopolis/Shohba, Constantia/Buraq and Maximianopolis/Shaqqa[c]), three of them less than 20 kms. away from existing cities, cannot be called deliberate urbanisation: "(...) it does suggest that urbanisation in the Hawran was a product of obscure, even whimsical, reasons, which produced an appallingly unbalanced geographical distribution of cities."

[79] Wad. 2308; *IGR* III 1276; *PA* III 91; cf. Sartre (1982b) 82; (1992) 148–9; MacAdam (1986) 128, no. 19; Braemer (1988) 136; Moors (1992) 240–1.

[80] Wad. 2305; *IGR* III 1273; *PA* III 90; cf. Sartre (1981) 347–8; Moors (1992) 239–41, esp. 240, n. 1.

185/6 this tribus was responsible for the construction of a building that contained workshops and other amenities (καὶ πάντι κόσμῳ) in an unspecified *polis*: ἐπισκοπούντων βουλευτῶν φυλῆς Βιταιηνῶν, προνοίᾳ κυρίου κτίστου Διονύσου.[81] Since all the activities in question took place in the city of Dionysias, there was clearly no need to specify the *polis'* identity. The most interesting thing about the nymphaeum text, however, is its statement that Dionysias had contributed financially to the enlargement and restoration of a sanctuary dedicated to a syncretic version of Athena (Allat)—σὺν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν—in the village of er-Raha as a reward for providing water.[82] The issue at stake here is the relationship between these villages and Dionysias. We can assume that at the beginning of the second century the whole cluster of villages, including Soada, belonged to Kanatha, since there was no other *polis* in the neighbourhood. Until 106, when the whole area was restructured to become part of the province of Arabia, Kanatha's territory probably stretched as far south as the newly created Syro-Arabian border, a distance of some 15 kms.. This can be deduced from the dissemination of the new provincial calendar for Arabia.[83] Around the middle of the second century this layout changed dramatically when Soada became a city.[84] The new Dionysias must have acquired its territory at the expense of Kanatha, but the surviving inscriptions do not permit us to establish the extent to which Kanatha's territory was reduced. While it would be reasonable to suppose that the socio-economic importance to Dionysias of the villages discussed above must have been so great that they must have belonged to its territory, it must be admitted that this conjecture of mine is based only on circumstantial evidence. If correct, it implies that Dionysias' territory must have been fairly extensive (according to

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[81] *SEG* 7, 971; cf. Sartre (1982b) 80; MacAdam (1986) 122, no. 7; Moors (1992) 239. For the *interpretatio Romana* of Dushara/Dusares, cf. Sourdel (1952) 12; Sartre (1987) 247 n. 24.

[82] Cf. *SEG* 7, 976, from the nearby village of el-Kefr, for the invocation Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀρρων (= er-Raha) καὶ πηγῶν.

[83] Kettenhofen (1981) 72; Sartre (1982a) 52; Bowersock (1983) 102; Denzer (1985–1986) 395; MacAdam (1986) 175; Moors (1992) 193–6.

[84] It is possible that an inscription from the village of Deyr es-Smej (*SEG* 7, 1233), a few kms. north of Kanatha, that refers to a ἑορτὴ τῶν Σοαδηνῶν (festival of the inhabitants of Soada) relates to activities carried out by Soadan villagers inside Kanatha's territory. A date before 183 is to be preferred for this text.

the standards of the Hawran). In any case, we must still be extremely cautious not to draw any overly firm conclusions about the administrative status of the villages in question. They provided Dionysias with water, but so did the nearby city of Kanatha. It can be assumed, however, that Dionysias' territory also extended in a southeasterly direction.

This brings us back to the question with which we opened this section, namely that of the boundary stone between Dionysias and Athela. Since the problem is bound up with the size of the territory of nearby Kanatha, we must first deal with a number of texts relating to that city. A particularly interesting text from Trévoux, near Lyons, is dedicated to Thaym (also known as Julianus) son of Sa^{c}ad, a Syrian merchant who died in France (*IGR* I 25; *CIL* XIII, 2448).[85] The text states that he was an Ἀθειληνός and also a βουλευτής τε πολίτης Κανωθαίων ἐπὶ Συρίης (not necessarily at the same time). The Latin version offers the same information: *Syri de vico Athelani, decurio* [*S*]*eptimianus Canotha*.[86] The epithet Septimia indicates that this text cannot have been inscribed before the reign of Septimius Severus. More precisely, it must date from after 194, when Septimius Severus crushed the revolt of Syria's governor, Pescennius Niger. We can perhaps allow ourselves to move the date yet further forward to some time after 197, when Septimius Severus defeated Clodius Albinus near Lyons, since it would have been inappropriate to use this epithet within territory controlled by one of Severus' opponents.[87] The

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[85] For analysis of this text, cf. *BE* 1976, 800; Sartre (1985) 79 with n. 112; Moors (1991) 243.

[86] The fact that Athela and Kanatha are called Syrian in Thaym's funerary inscription should not be taken to mean that both belonged to Syria. There are other inscriptions in which the designation "Syria" is used vaguely rather than to denote a well-defined administrative unit. Cf. Robert (1940–1965), II, 44; 48 with n. 1; Sartre (1982a) 62–3; Bowersock (1983) 116. In *P. Oxy.* 3054 (6), dated to ca. 265, someone from Bostra, the capital of Arabia, is described as ἀπὸ Βόστρας τῆς Συρίης; cf. Parsons (1974) 139–41. A papyrus of 322 describes another person as ἀπὸ Βόστρων Συρίας; cf. Vitelli (1925) 62, no. 722,2. At the end of the second century Arabia gained new territory along its northern border, including the Hawran and the southern Leja^{c}, at the expense of Syria. This administrative move probably took place in connection with the division of Syria into two new provinces (consular Syria Coele in the north and praetorian Syria Phoenice in the south) with the intention of putting a firm curb on the concentration of military units throughout Syria. Cf. Kettenhofen (1977) 72–3; Bowersock (1983) 114–5; Moors (1992) 83; 196–200.

[87] Cf. Sartre (1982a) 62; Bowersock (1983) 117; MacAdam (1986) 74.

Constitutio Antoniniana of 212 may serve as the terminus ante quem, which would give us a date somewhere between 197 and 212.[88] We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the reference to Septimius in this text may date from later on in the 3rd century.

It appears that Thaym came from or lived in the village of Athela, but was a member of Kanatha's local council. One other Kanatha *bouleutes* is known to have come from outside the *polis*,[89] but most of the surviving references to these officials originate from the city itself. Here it may be useful to take a closer look at three other texts in which individuals describe their relationship with Kanatha. These texts come from Philippopolis[90] and from the villages of el-Mushennef (*SEG* 7, 1080) and Busan.[91] They clearly show that members of the local élite were proud of their Kanathan citizenship. The votive inscription from Philippopolis provides a particularly good illustration of this: Σιθϱος Ραββηλο[υ] ἀϱχιβαλι(στάϱιος) Σηνὸς Κανωθηνὸς ἀν(έθηκεν). It appears that this veteran, originally from the nearby village of Si^c, succeeded in being admitted to the municipal council of neighbouring Kanatha, and that Sithr considered this important enough to record it in an inscription erected in another *polis*. It was fairly common in this part of the Roman Empire for wealthy and respectable individuals from the countryside to be recruited as members of municipal councils. As Sartre has argued, this does not imply that the village from which such an individual came necessarily belonged to the territory of the city in which he became a councillor: "il existe dans ces villages des notables qui ont été honorés de la citoyenneté dans telle ou telle cité voisine (honneur non dénué d'arrière-pensées), mais il n'apparaît pas que le village entier appartienne pour autant à la cité".[92] Similar texts from el-Mushennef and Busan therefore cannot be taken as firm evidence of any formal relationship between these villages and the city of Kanatha. Two other inscriptions are worth

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88 Cf. a similar text, also funerary, from Thasos, commemorating Rufinus, the 22-year-old son of Germanus: Mendel (1900) 275, no. 19; cf. Launey (1934) 495–500; Robert (1940–1965), II, 43; Millar (1993) 419–20. Both Thaym and Germanus came from *Septimia Kanotha* and both texts must date from more or less the same period.

89 Wad. 2216, from el-Mushennef, ca. 15 kms. east of Kanatha.

90 *SEG* 7, 989; Denzer (1991) 146 (10,07) reads ἀϱχιβαλιστηνος instead of ἀϱχιβαλι(στάϱιος) Σηνός. Cf. also Millar (1993) 419.

91 *PAES* III 735, 1. Busan is ca. 20 kms. southeast of Kanatha.

92 Sartre (1987) 255.

mentioning in this connection. These were found in Shaqra^{c} and ^{c}Orman, two villages 35 and 40 kms. to the southeast of Philippopolis respectively, and describe the activities of two *bouleutai* from this *polis*.[93] Given the distances involved, it is very unlikely that there was any administrative link between these villages and Philippopolis. It should be pointed out that *bouleutai* from Bostra were to be found in a number of places throughout northern Arabia. One even turns up in Constantia, a *polis* on the northern edge of the Leja^{c}.[94]

The fact that Thaym, or Julianus, was a former inhabitant of Athela as well as a citizen of Kanatha and member of its municipal élite is therefore insufficient evidence for us to conclude that Athela was a dependent village. In general no firm conclusions as to the status of villages can be drawn from the evidence of boundary markers. It has, however, been demonstrated that the boundary stones from the Golan delineated village territories within a municipal territory. If we transpose this practice to the Hawran, we can tentatively suggest that Athela belonged to Dionysias or Kanatha and Orela to Maximianopolis.[95] This suggestion must, however, remain pure conjecture.

(c) *Distance markers on milestones*

The Roman authorities erected milestones along all main roads to tell travellers how far they were from cities, *castella* etc. A relatively large number of these milestones, most of them referring to *poleis*, have been discovered along the main roads that connected the cities of the Decapolis. The distance between *poleis* was measured in *milia passuum* from the city centres, which served as *capita viarum*. In using milestones to determine the size of municipal territories it is generally assumed that the point between the two *capita viarum* where the miles ceased to be counted from one city and began to be counted from the other must have been where the territory of the first ended and that of the other began. In other words, a straightforward and unambiguous relationship is assumed between the way in which miles were counted

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[93] Shaqra^{c}: Wad. 2506; *IGR* III 1152. ^{c}Orman: Wad. 2019; cf. Liebeschuetz (1972) 119–20 with n. 7.

[94] Wad. 2537b; cf. Sartre (1985) 84; MacAdam (1986) 215, no. 4. Below, footnote 119, for a discussion of the text.

[95] Cf. Millar (1993) 419.

and the size of territories. This method was used by Avi-Yonah in his reconstruction of the territorial subdivisions within the Decapolis: "When the road reached a city boundary and entered another territory, the count began again with reference to the second city. The distances marked on the milestones are therefore a valuable indication of the extent of city areas".[96] Both Beyer and, more recently, Mittmann have used this method to reconstruct the boundaries of such cities as Scythopolis, Pella, Bostra, Adraha and Gerasa.[97] They did so, however, without properly testing whether the original assumption was correct. In his study of milestones from different parts of the Roman Empire Pekáry demonstrated that there are no good grounds for accepting any connection between what was inscribed on milestones and the sizes of territories.[98] Benjamin Isaac, who has come to a similar conclusion with regard to Judaean milestones, maintains that this fallacy has affected much of what has been written about the territorial history of the province.[99] In the light of these remarks, it will come as no surprise that the same fallacy has affected the histories of Syria and Arabia.

Recently the method has been tested thoroughly,[100] but the outcome was less satisfactory than had been expected. An attempt was made to map territories according to the city calendars used, but this failed to produce the desired result due to a lack of essential epigraphical data on milestones that made it impossible to establish the mile-counting changeover points on most of the tracks through the Decapolis. Nevertheless, milestones can still be useful for our purpose. Most of the milestones throughout Syria and Arabia carry only one distance indication. These are obviously of little help in clarifying the nature of the supposed link, if any, between mile counting and the size of territories. A limited number of milestones, however, carry two indicators. An example of this type was found at the 36th mile station (i.e. 36 miles southwest of Bostra) along the road leading from Bostra via Adraha to Gerasa, their respective distances being 24 and 31 *milia passum*.[101] It is remarkable that this milestone, on the road section

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96 Avi-Yonah (1943–1944) 1–2; (1977) 127–9.
97 Beyer (1935) 129–59, esp. 144–59; Mittmann (1964) 132–6; (1970) 149–50.
98 Pekáry (1968) 138–48.
99 Isaac (1978) 57; (1980) 895 n. 9; cf. also Schneider (1982) 107.
100 Moors (1992) 31–158.
101 Mittmann (1964) 120–1; 125.

between Adraha and Gerasa, should give the distance to Bostra where one would have expected a distance *from* the nearest *polis*. Another example comes from the same route: the 44th mile station (44 miles southwest of Bostra) gives the distances from Bostra (44 miles) and from Adraha (20 miles).[102] Does this milestone provide us with any sort of information about territorial borders? If so, it is rather odd to find a reference to Bostra on the road between Adraha and Gerasa. To complicate matters further, the distances engraved on the two milestones at the next mile station (10 miles north of Gerasa and 21 miles south of Adraha) are also striking choices. The first stone, erected in 194 during the reign of Septimius Severus, refers to Gerasa as its *caput viae* and states that it is 10 miles away.[103] Another, fragmentary, inscription found at the same spot only mentions the numbers XL[V]-M[E]'.[104] The distance given probably relates to Bostra, since there is no other obvious candidate. It should be noted that no reference is made to Adraha even though this route passes through it on its way to Bostra. Two mile stations along the same road, then, give distances from different places and three different *capita viarum* are referred to. Is our knowledge of the size of municipal territories really enhanced by this? Our conclusion must surely be that no attempt ought to be made to extract information about territorial borders from the distances recorded on milestones. Their only function was to indicate the distance between two places, as road signs do today, and they are therefore irrelevant to our understanding of the size of municipal territories in the Decapolis.

Municipal territories: concluding remarks

Three types of information were taken into account in attempting to establish the status of various villages in the Decapolis. Our

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[102] Mittmann (1964) 127–8; *AE* 1969–1970, 619.

[103] Mittmann (1964) 135: "Die Inschrift ist zwar sehr zerstört, aber die Zahlen sind – nach der Auskunft Germer Durands – deutlich sichtbar, so daß es schwerfällt, an ihrer Richtigkeit zu zweifeln". Mittmann refers to Germer-Durand (1904) 33, no. 52.

[104] Germer-Durand (1904) 34, reads XLII-M[.]'. He adds: "le chiffre latin est tout entier lisible". Since it is very likely that the stone records the distance to Gerasa, Germer-Durand's reading may be supplemented to XL[V]-M[E]'; cf. Mittmann (1964) 135, no. 38.

conclusion must be that this sort of method cannot produce the desired result. Distance markers existed primarily to give information about geographical distances and must therefore be considered unsuitable for the purpose of establishing the size of territories. Boundary stones do indeed indicate boundary lines, including some between villages and *poleis*, as in the cases of Athela-Dionysias and Orela-Maximianopolis, but it is virtually impossible to determine whether the boundaries indicated were between separate administrative systems or merely between fiscal districts. This means that only combining the evidence from boundary stones with the distribution of municipal calendars over the surrounding countryside can clarify matters. This has been pointed out in a number of cases. In the case of Hippos it was found that a cluster of villages mentioned on boundary stones from the Golan was probably dependent on Paneas. These stones must therefore have been *inside* Paneas' territory. The evidence offered by boundary stones can only be of value if tested against and used in tandem with other testimony. This explains why it is so difficult to interpret the stones that delimit the territories of *poleis* and villages. As we saw in the case of Paneas, there is no reason why the territory of a temple or a private estate should be taken to have been outside the city's territory. If we take this assumption a little further and apply it to the Hawran, it seems most desirable to see the boundary stones between Athela and Dionysias and between Orela and Maximianopolis as markers indicating village territories *within* the territory of a city. This would suggest that the villages of Athela and Orela belonged to these cities.[105] In practice, given that the distances between Athela, Dionysias and Kanatha were so small, it is virtually impossible to decide to which city Athela belonged. It is, however, reasonable to assume that Orela belonged to Maximianopolis, since there is no alternative. This leads to the view that municipal territories must have extended for some distance outside the cities themselves, even though this was a densely urbanised area. It also means that we know nothing concrete about the administrative status of most of these villages.

It is generally assumed that in the Decapolis, and especially in the southern parts of Syria and the adjacent regions of Arabia, we are dealing with territories of limited size. This view is largely based on

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[105] Cf. Millar (1993) 419.

the notion that this part of the Roman Near East was heavily urbanised, especially the Hawran, Nuqra^{c} and the Leja^{c} plateau. These areas have produced a large number of inscriptions, mainly from the countryside, that have permitted us to take a closer look at village life, especially during the period from the 2nd to the 4th century, to which the majority of the inscriptions belong. It is remarkable that we should be less well informed about individual *poleis*. Far fewer texts from cities such as Hippos, Gadara, Abila and Philadelphia have been discovered than might have been expected, especially by comparison with the wealth of material produced by cities in Asia Minor. We encounter, moreover, a relatively large number of *poleis* in an area that was already densely dotted with villages. The cities appear to have been more or less submerged beneath a multitude of villages. Since there were many institutional similarities between cities and villages (for instance, in the nature of their building projects, sanctuaries, festivals, benefactions, treasuries and officials), this has led to the conclusion that municipal territories must have been limited in size. According to this view, *poleis* were nothing more than villages with a different administrative status. Sartre even ventures to argue: "On n'a pas encore pu prouver que ces villages possédaient des βουλαί mais la question mérite d'être posée".[106]

Polis *and countryside: the* bouleutai

This chapter has frequently emphasised the fact that rural communities in the Decapolis occupied a significant position. Scholars have accordingly concluded that "many [villages, SM], especially those of the upland areas attached to Syria, did not take on the role of shadowy appendages of *poleis*. From the abundant evidence of the inscriptions they assumed instead the form, if not the substance, of cities".[107] Since there seems to have been no clear distinction between villages and cities, we are left in considerable confusion as to the status of municipal institutions in villages. One significant question concerns

[106] Sartre (1993) 121.

[107] The quotation is from MacAdam (1986) 107. Compare Millar (1993), 419, who argues: "(...) as almost everywhere, a 'city' represented merely one agglomeration more prestigious than others".

the role of *bouleutai* (councillors). Their presence has led to the view that councils, a municipal institution *par excellence*, were also to be found in villages. According to Villeneuve, "même si aucune βουλή de village n'apparaît dans les textes, l'existence de nombreux *bouleutes*, dont rien dans les sources permet de penser qu'ils sont *bouleutes* dans les *cités* de la région, établit que des *villages* avaient leur *conseil*. La *maison commune*, signalée par plus d'une inscription, pouvait servir de lieu de réunion de celui-ci" [emphases in original].[108] Villeneuve's argument is based on the large number of 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai* mentioned in inscriptions. The term 'undifferentiated' here denotes a category of *bouleutai* with regard to whom no record exists of the geographical area wherein they fulfilled their responsibilities. Other *bouleutai*, by contrast, are named together with the town of whose council they were members (e.g. βουλευτής Καναθηνός). Harper has observed that the epigraphical evidence from Syria contains no trace of any village *boule*. The fact that large numbers of 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai* seem to have flourished in villages that were never promoted to the rank of city, however, leaves plenty of room for the argument that villages had *boulai*. Harper states that "Had the councillor been the councillor of a village community other than the village mentioned in the inscription, the name of that community would probably have been included."[109] Recently, Sartre has also hinted at this: "Après avoir longtemps cru qu'il était peu vraisemblable que les bouleutes attestés dans les villages soient bouleutes dans ces villages, j'avoue que ma perplexité reste entière. Si les villages en question sont autonomes, comme je le crois, l'absence de toute mention de la cité de rattachement du bouleute rendait le texte obscur".[110] In short, Sartre does not categorically dismiss the possibility that village *boulai* existed.[111] At first sight the argument seems quite plausible, especially if one takes into account the frequent references to activities undertaken by ἡ κώμη, οἱ κωμῆται, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης, ὁ δῆμος, τὸ κοινόν, ὁ ὄχλος, and possibly once by τὸ σ[υνέδριον (?) τῆς] ἀπάσης

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[108] Villeneuve (1985–1986) 82.
[109] Harper (1928) 143–4; cf. also Villeneuve (1985–1986) 82.
[110] Sartre (1993) 122.
[111] Rey-Coquais (1993) 142, also leaves room for the possibility that the northern Syrian villages had their own *boulai*, at least during the third century.

κώμης.[112] The village community is also frequently described in the plural, as in οἱ Καπρησίοι (the 'el-Kefr-ians') or οἱ Ναμρησίοι (the 'Namr-ians'). It is, moreover, known that the decisions made by villages were carried out by a wide variety of village officials, such as ἐπιμεληταί, προνοηταί, διοικηταί, πραγματευταί, οἰκονόμοι, ἐπίσκοποι, and πιστοί. Given this background of a sophisticated network of administrative responsibilities, it is hardly surprising that Harper entertained the idea (and in some cases even assumed the presence) of independent village *boulai*.[113] In the remainder of this chapter we shall look into the evidence concerning *bouleutai* in Syria and Arabia in order to examine whether such a view can be substantiated.

The first text to be discussed comes from the village of el-Hosn, in the north of Syria, and can be dated to 367/8. The fourth line records five (?) *bouleutai* from the village of Touron: [πέντ]ε (?) β[ο]υ[λευτ]αὶ Τούρου (*IGLS* 652). The editors, Jalabert and Mouterde, commented that, "Leur mention ne prouve pas d'ailleurs que Toûron avait rang de πόλις, car il semble qu'en Syrie les villages mêmes aient eu leur βουλή (...)". In his study of fourth-century Antioch Liebeschuetz accepted this argument, even though he was not completely convinced.[114] Jalabert's and Mouterde's reading of the fragment makes it seem plausible that village *boulai* should have existed in northern Syria during the fourth century, yet the fragmentary character of the text and the fact that a village council would have been a unique phenomenon in Syria should be cause for some doubt. Furthermore, the villages in the eastern hinterland of Antioch were not autonomous, which makes it more likely that this inscription relates to five *bouleutai* from Antioch.

The second relevant text comes from the village of Umm er-Rumman, some 20 kms. to the southeast of Bostra. It is a fragmentary inscription (dated 472/3) that has been transcribed by Waddington as follows: [ἐκ προνοίας] Βαδαγιου καὶ Μοχεσου [ἐκτίσθη τὸ κοιν]οβούλι(ο)ν ἔτ(ε)ι τξζ' (Wad. 2056). On the basis of his reading of the

[112] *SEG* 7, 1050 (Juneyneh); cf. Harper (1928) 129; MacAdam (1986) 166–7.

[113] Harper (1928) 143: "The evidence that Syrian villages, sometimes at least, had councils or βουλαί is not so clear, but it appears that some of the more highly organized villages had these councils".

[114] Liebeschuetz (1972) 119 with n. 7 and with reference to Jones (1971) 288. Cf. also MacAdam (1986) 151.

second line of this text — .IOBOYΛINETITΞZ — MacAdam observed that "the most that might be said is that the last line contains the end of a proper name (a month?) in the genitive singular, possibly followed by an alpha or delta, then an abbreviation for indiction, and lastly the year: -IOBOY A IN(ΔIKTIΩNOΣ) ET(E)I TΞZ. Alternatively, one might read an abbreviation for *bouleutes*, followed by the year: -IO? BOYΛ(EYTOY?) (E)N ET(E)I TΞZ. In either case, the sole attestation of a village possessing a *bouleion* or *koino-bouleion* evaporates".[115] Since the village of ᶜImtan, close to Umm er-Rumman, can be assumed to have belonged to Bostra's territory, it seems possible that Umm er-Rumman may also have done so. Furthermore, it would seem rather extraordinary to encounter a village with its own *boule* in this area, in the vicinity of the capital of Arabia. In any case, the reading of the text is too problematic to allow any firm conclusions to be drawn.

At present we know of 72 inscriptions naming *bouleutai* in this part of the Roman Empire. Of these, 28 inscriptions were discovered in *poleis* and 44 in villages.[116] Probably all of these 28 inscriptions found in cities refer to *bouleutai* of cities. That is said explicitly so in nine cases, but it is highly likely in the other nineteen cases too. It is reasonable to assume that people who were named as *bouleutai* within a particular *polis* without any indication of their territorial affiliation were probably active within that *polis* itself. In other words, a *bouleutes* from Bostra would be more inclined to identify himself as a βουλευτὴς Βοστρηνός/-ῶν in an inscription erected somewhere else than in Bostra and less inclined to bother with his geographical origin in Bostra itself. This is perfectly illustrated by the inscription in honour of the Syrian Thaym, who died in France and who is designated as a *bouleutes Kanathenos*.[117] It seems obvious that it was regarded as important that his position as a councillor in Syrian/Arabian Kanatha should be emphasised, at least in the Latin version of the text, in order

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[115] MacAdam (1986) 153. See further *SEG* 36, 1377 and Sartre (1993) 122.

[116] For a list of all the *bouleutes* inscriptions from southern Syria and northern Arabia, cf. Moors (1992) 371–5. To this list should now be added two texts from the villages of Namr and et-Taᶜaleh that remain unpublished; cf. Sartre (1993) 121 n. 26 and 123–4 respectively.

[117] *IG* XIV 2532; *ILS* 7529; *IGR* I 25; *CIL* XIII 2448; cf. Sartre (1985) 79 and n.112.

to distinguish him from the members of the local council in Lyons. The bare mention of the word *bouleutes* in the Greek version would not have done the trick in Gaul. In their own cities, councillors did not need to mention explicitly that they were councillors of that city, rather than of another. Therefore, we may assume that all inscriptions with *bouleutai* found in cities do in fact refer to *bouleutai* of cities rather than villages.

Practical necessity to be specific about the city where one was a councillor was not the only motivation to mention the name of that city, however. Returning to Bostra for a moment, it is worth noting that the inscriptions found in the city itself name only four councillors as *bouleutes* without giving any further information, while eight councillors are given the full description *bouleutes Bostrenos*,[118] even though, obviously, this may seem 'unnecessary'. It may, therefore, be suggested that patriotism was another important reason why *bouleutai* were named together with their geographical affiliations. Both motivations to mention the name of the city come together in the inscriptions found in the countryside of Bostra: all fifteen (or perhaps sixteen[119]) mention that the *bouleutes* was a councillor of Bostra.[120]

Thanks to this examination we may now increase the number of *bouleutai* who can be associated with a particular municipal council. Apart from those directly attested as councillors of a particular city (29), we may add all those who are attested as councillors in a city, although not explicitly as councillors of that city (19) to a total of 48, or 66% of the total number of known *bouleutai* from this part of the Roman Empire.[121]

The affiliations of the remaining 24 *bouleutai* (34% of the total) are still open to debate. They are known from inscriptions in villages and are not explicitly referred to as councillors of a city. Were they also city councillors, or were they the councillors of villages? A look at the geographical spread of these references shows that there is no firm

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118 Cf. Sartre (1985) 84.

119 The uncertainty concerning the total number of *bouleutai Bostrenoi* is due to the ambivalence of an inscription from Constantia, i.e. Wad. 2537b; Séjourné (1898) 97; cf. Sartre (1985) 84; MacAdam (1986) 215, no. 4.

120 Unfortunately this observation cannot be tested for the other cities in the Decapolis, since the number of relevant cases is too small.

121 Moors (1992) 372-5.

indication that they were more prevalent in any particular area. Nor do inscriptions of this sort seem to have occurred more frequently either in close proximity to the city or further away from it. It may be suggested that some rural communities, especially those in the hinterland, could have been autonomous and could therefore have possessed their own *boule*. In this case, as in that of municipal councillors, advertising the local prominence of village *bouleutai* by adding a geographical affiliation to their title may have been regarded as unnecessary. We shall proceed for the moment on the assumption that a village *bouleutes* whose geographical origin is not specified may have been linked to an autonomous village. This would imply that *bouleutai* who chose to specify the cities in which they served as municipal councillors had a strong desire to boast of their municipal connections. It is also possible that they may have wished to distinguish themselves from their less important rural colleagues (that is, of course, if independent village *boulai* did actually exist), since a municipal *bouleutes* would probably have been held in higher esteem than a rural one. Municipal *bouleutai*, then, would probably have mentioned their urban backgrounds in village inscriptions for reasons of prestige. One specific category of *bouleutai* can safely be excluded from this discussion, that is, those who are named as *bouleutai* without geographical affiliation in inscriptions found in villages about which we know from other evidence that they belonged to a city: these villages obviously cannot have had *boulai* of their own and the *bouleutai* in question must have been members of the municipal council of the city on whose territory the inscription was found. These texts should, however, be offset against those city inscriptions in which the name of a *bouleutes* appears together with a geographical affiliation. It would appear that these texts must have been erected by councillors who were eager to express their pride in having acquired membership of the local council.

It is worth pointing out that those inscriptions that record a municipal *cursus honorum* give no information about the area in which these offices were held. We have no texts recording whatever offices may have been held by 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai*. Had any such text been found, it could have been used as an argument for assigning 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai* to villages. A very few texts may shed some light on municipal careers. The first of these, from Bostra, concerns an 'undifferentiated' *bouleutes* who had held the offices of

φλαμήν and ἀστυνόμος (*IGLS* 9009). From the same city comes an inscription about a βουλευτικός who had been ἱερεύς and ἀστυνόμος (*IGLS* 9028).[122] The context of these examples must be municipal. We have, in other words, so little information about these careers that we cannot be any clearer about whether or not *bouleutai* named without geographical affiliation should be assigned to village *boulai*. It would, moreover, appear that inscriptions that provided no information about careers were not typical of the countryside.

In sum, it is probable that the 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai* recorded in villages belonged to municipal councils, since the cumulative weight of all these arguments fails convincingly to support the existence of village *boulai* and *bouleutai*. It is significant that all the geographical descriptions found in combination with the term *bouleutes* refer to cities and not to villages. In other words, not one inscription has been found, either in a city or in the countryside, that records an affiliation to a village. This makes it very difficult to accept the existence of village councils. On the other hand, we have 29 references to *bouleutai* whose background was unquestionably municipal. Evidence in support of these observations appears in the geographical spread of the 24 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai* mentioned in village inscriptions. In more than 50% of these 24 cases a link with a city can be established.

It was argued above that the village of ᶜImtan, ca. 35 kms. southeast of Bostra, belonged to that city. It follows that villages such as Salkhad and Hut, both about halfway between Bostra and ᶜImtan, should probably also be reckoned to have come under the jurisdiction of Bostra.[123] The same can be said of Umm-el-Qutteyn, some 27 kms. southeast of Bostra.[124] Each of these villages has produced evidence of the presence of 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai* (four in all). If these were dependent villages belonging to Bostra, it cannot be argued that they had their own *boulai*. In all probability these four *bouleutai* were therefore members of the municipal council of Bostra.

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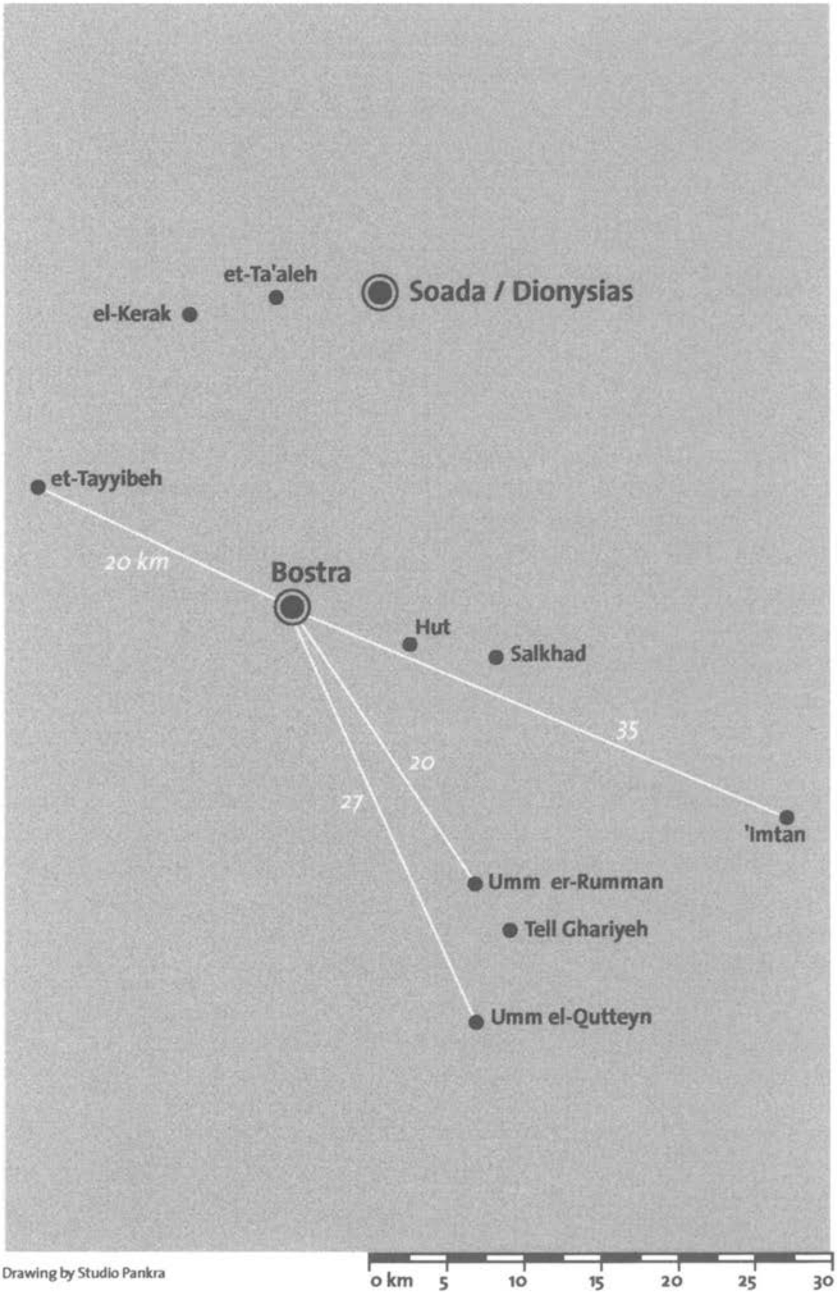
[122] Cf. Sartre (1985) 84; 86.

[123] Salkhad: Wad. 1989; *IGR* III 1316; cf. MacAdam (1986) 208–9, nos. 60–2; 221, no. 14. Hut: Dunand (1939) 572: no. 292; cf. MacAdam (1986) 222, no. 17.

[124] ᶜImtan: Wad. 2034; cf. Sartre (1982a) 102; (1993) 122 with n. 29; MacAdam (1986) 158, no. 4; 172–3, no. 4; 219, no. 6.

BOSTRA



Drawing by Studio Pankra

It may likewise be assumed that Tell Gharriyyeh, a village approximately 20 kms. southeast of Bostra, belonged to this city. Thus [Θεό]δωρος Ἐμμέλις, who is designated as an 'undifferentiated' πολιτευσ(άμενος) in a funerary inscription from that village, must have been a member of Bostra's council.[125] This argument is reinforced by the reference to a βουλευτὴς Βοστρηνὸς τῶν πρώτων in a text from the same village.[126]

The village of Irbid probably belonged to Adraha. It is therefore logical to attribute the three *bouleutai* mentioned in this village to Adraha's council (*SEG* 16, 818).

The village of el-Muzeyrib, 12 kms. northwest of Adraha, presumably also belonged to it. Even though there exists no direct evidence in favour of this assumption, it is natural to assign the village to Adraha because of the short distance and lack of major natural barriers between the two. This implies that an 'undifferentiated' *bouleutes* from el-Muzeyrib must be attributed to Adraha.[127]

A similar argument can be applied to et-Tayyibeh, a village 20 kms. from both Adraha and Bostra. Even though no evidence allows us to assign it securely to either of the two, an 'undifferentiated' *bouleutes* from this village is most likely to have belonged to a municipal council, whether Adraha's or Bostra's.[128]

I have argued that the village of Soada acquired city status and became Dionysias at some time between 149 and 184 and that Soada's new acquisitions deprived Kanatha of a substantial part of her territory. It is possible that the village of el-Kerak was transferred to Dionysias' jurisdiction at this time, speculative though any such presumption must remain. Since the only reference found in el-Kerak to an 'undifferentiated' *bouleutes*[129] cannot be dated, it is not possible to assign him to either Kanatha or Dionysias. We must even allow for the possibility that he was on Bostra's council. In view of the fact that there were so many cities in the area, attribution to a municipal council

125 *SEG* 7, 1217. From the fourth century onwards the designation *bouleutes* was gradually replaced by *politeuomenos*; cf. Sartre (1985) 85, with reference to Hanton (1927–1928) 70; 117–8. The medial aorist was used here because of the funerary context.

126 *SEG* 7, 1223; cf. Sartre (1985) 85; MacAdam (1986) 217, no. 15.

127 Fossey (1897) 43, no. 17; *IGR* III 1167; cf. MacAdam (1986) 221, no. 16.

128 *PAES* III 624: Savignac 1905: 94, no. 5; cf. MacAdam 1986: 221, no. 12.

129 Wad. 2412^{e}; cf. MacAdam (1986) 220, no. 8.

should be preferred over attribution to a village council whose very existence is unlikely.

The same argument can be applied to the case of the *bouleutes* referred to in an inscription from the village of et-Ta^{c}aleh, only 12 kms. to the west of Dionysias. This is a fairly long text about the construction of a tomb and a pigeon house. The authority who commissioned this project was a βουλευτίς, ἀπὸ ϱοπόσιτος πάγου καὶ δὺς ἄϱχας (=δὶς ἄϱξας).[130] According to Sartre, a *praepositus pagi* in Syria or Arabia had the same responsibilities as his counterpart in Egypt; that is, he was a member of council in charge of levying taxes and was subordinate to an *exactor civitatis*. Since this *praepositus* had also held the offices of *bouleutes* and *archon* the context must be a municipal

[130] Sartre (1993) 130–1. In other texts from this area one encounters only the abbreviation ππ, which is traditionally interpreted as meaning either π(ϱιμι)π(ιλάϱιος) or π(ϱαι)π(όσιτος); cf. Appelbaum (1978) 146–7, no. 26 (=*SEG* 28, 1438), with regard to a funerary inscription from the beginning of the third century found in Kfar Gileadi. We have only one text from this region in which the word πϱιμιπιλάϱιος is written out in full: Dussaud and Macler (1901) 176, no. 44; from ^{c}Inak. In three other inscriptions, from Philippopolis (*SEG* 38, 1662), ^{c}Ireh (*SEG* 7, 1149) and Qreyeh (*SEG* 7, 1154), ππ is used. The designation πϱαιπόσιτος is encountered twice. It appears once, in a specifically military context, in ^{c}Imtan (Dussaud and Macler [1901] 177, no. 46; *PAES* III 223) in a funerary text for the son of a πϱαιπόσιτος γεντιλίων (= *Gothi gentiles*) ἐν Μοθανοις (Mothana = ^{c}Imtan). The other instance, a text from the village of el-Kefr dated to 350, concerns a member of council in Bostra β(ουλευτὴς) Β(οστϱηνός) who was also ἀπὸ ππτων: Dussaud and Macler (1903) 250/1, no. 27; *PAES* III 669; cf. Sartre (1985) 85. The latter abbreviation ought to stand for ἀπὸ π(ϱαι)π(οσί)των since the plural makes ἀπὸ π(ϱαιπόσιτου) π(άγου) very unlikely. Since this inscription is a funerary text, it appears that this *bouleutes* was buried in his home village. It is hard to tell whether el-Kefr belonged to Bostra at the time when the text was inscribed. It is, in any case, probable that it belonged to the province of Syria until the Severan era and therefore was not originally part of Bostra's territory: Moors (1992) 192–6; cf. Sartre (1993) 131, n. 93. Sartre (1993) 131, however, remarks that the abbreviation ἀπὸ ππτων ought to be interpreted as ἀπὸ π(ϱαι)π(οσί)των (πάγου) and adds: "Ce seul example montre l'ampleur des innovations que l'on est en droit d'attendre d'une exploration systématique des villages syriens". Even though Sartre's argument sounds attractive, especially since the term ἀπὸ ππτων is being used in a civic context and concerns a *bouleutes*, as is also the case in the inscription from et-Ta^{c}aleh, it lacks sufficient weight to make a convincing case for the existence of a village council. In view of the prominent role played by veterans in villages and cities, it is hardly surprising that a *bouleutes* should have had a military background. It is therefore preferable to consider the text from et-Ta^{c}aleh to be the only example of a *praepositus pagi* in this area.

one, since all references to *archontes* in this part of Syria must be assigned to cities.[131]

The final relevant reference to a *bouleutes* comes from el-Hit.[132] Elsewhere I have argued that this village belonged to Maximianopolis. If I am right, the councillor from el-Hit should be assigned to Maximianopolis.

It now appears that of the group of 24 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai* named in village inscriptions 13 should probably be attributed to a municipal council, while the background of the remaining 11 councillors is uncertain. It is, however, not too far-fetched to assume that the latter should also be assigned to municipal councils, especially given that these councils were given to recruiting men of property from the countryside to their ranks.[133] Revealing in this respect is how little Hellenised these *bouleutai* seem to have been.[134] Some of them, moreover, were not even Roman citizens. As happened elsewhere in the Roman Empire, the municipal élite in Syria recruited members of the rural élite to share in the expense of municipal government,

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[131] One example will suffice: a τέμενος ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς Μεγεθίου Γερμανοῦ β' καὶ Χείλωνος Μαλχίωνος ἀρχόντων was constructed in Bostra in 320/1: *IGLS* 9111, cf. Sartre (1985) 120. During a later period (the fifth century) the term ἄρχων was used of the provincial governor; cf. *IGLS* 9139; Sartre (1982a) 111–2, no. 82. Village *archontes* are only to be found in northern Syria. In around 350, in one of his *Orationes* (47, 8), Libanius described how an attempt by tax collectors to arrest village *archontes* was thwarted by the village's inhabitants, with the support of the military. Although this passage does not say how many *archontes* were involved, there can be no doubt that they were representatives of a village government. In Asia Minor, too, the office was quite common. P. Aelius Menecrates, the official named in an inscription erected in the village of Almoura in the Cayster valley (Lydia), appears to have been an *archon*: Pleket (1970) 61–74, no. 4. Almoura was part of Ephesus' territory; cf. Magie (1950) 1025; Pleket (1970) 63; 73. The text is dated after the archonship of Lucius Verus Bassus: ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας Λ(ουκίου) Βέρου Βάσσου φιλοσεβάστου καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ. Lucius Verus Bassus is also on record in a text from Ephesus (*I. Eph.* 3252). Even though Bassus held local office in Almoura, one wonders whether he was really a villager and not a prominent city dweller who invested in *ergasteria* in the countryside and consequently held a prestigious office there.

[132] *SEG* 7, 994; cf. MacAdam (1986) 221, no. 15.

[133] Sartre (1985) 79: "Il est en tout cas naturel que chaque ville ait attiré dans sa boulè les familles riches habitant les villages qui n'avaient pas été élevées au rang de cité". Cf. MacAdam (1986) 154; Sartre (1991) 328; 342.

[134] Cf. the occurrence of local proper names and the "unclassical" way in which a number of these inscriptions were written.

especially with respect to '*leitourgiai*' (compulsory areas of responsibility such as tax-collecting, much of the cost of which was borne by the responsible official himself), and to cut their own expenses in exchange for status and prominence.[135] *Bouleutai* sometimes occupied dual positions of responsibility in the city and in their home villages, as is illustrated by the *bouleutes* who also acted as an *episkopos* on one of el-Kerak's executive committees.[136] Funerary inscriptions for *bouleutai* have also been found in places where they did not hold office. The tombs of certain *bouleutai Bostrenoi* were in the countryside,[137] and the same goes for the councillors of other cities.[138]

Concluding remarks

Since the 1920s the relative abundance of epigraphical material from southern Syria and northern Arabia has resulted in a wealth of publications. Unlike other parts of the Roman Empire, this region has provided a wealth of information about the administration of the countryside and relatively little about municipal government. Since we are dealing with a frontier area stretching out across "the desert and the sown" (a reference to Gertrude Bell's captivating account of her travels through this area at the beginning of the twentieth century), historians have tended to emphasise the importance of the countryside above that of the cities. Their approach may not be entirely removed from reality, but it should be borne in mind that the epigraphical material is too skewed for any firm conclusions to be drawn. To

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[135] Sartre (1991) 328: "Dans le Hauran, les notables des cités ont été recrutés chez les propriétaires fonciers de quelque importance et il s'agit toujours d'indigènes qui conservent avec leurs villages d'origine des liens solides (...)".

[136] Wad. 2412^{e}; cf. MacAdam (1986) 220, no. 8. The case of the *bouleutes* recorded in an inscription in ^{c}Imtan is more complicated. In around 343/4 a number of activities were undertaken for the benefit of the village through the πϱονοία of three *pistoi*, in cooperation with a *bouleutes*: Wad. 2034; cf. MacAdam (1986) 158, no. 4; 172–3, no. 4; 210, no. 6; Sartre (1993) 121, n. 26. This last individual also held the office of *ekdikos*. It is difficult to tell whether this *ekdikos* was a village official.

[137] Cf. Sartre (1985) 85.

[138] An Adraha *bouleutes* was recorded in ^{c}Atil (*SEG* 7, 1104); a Philippopolis *bouleutes* was recorded in ^{c}Orman (Wad. 2019) and another buried in Shaqra^{c} (Wad. 2506; *IGR* III 1152). No administrative link can be assumed between these villages and the cities in which these individuals were *bouleutai*.

illustrate this fact I have singled out for detailed discussion the much debated theme of *bouleutai* in villages. It is in my view unlikely that Syrian and Arabian villages had their own councils during the 3rd and 4th centuries. By far the greater number of the *bouleutai* encountered in village inscriptions should be assigned to municipal councils; where they are seen to have been active in villages they should be regarded as having been so "as individuals, performing local functions."[139] Moreover, evidence that even hints at the presence of *boulai* in villages is entirely lacking. In other words, we have as yet no substantial evidence to back up the assumption of Villeneuve, Sartre and others that villages were organised in more or less the same way as cities. Even though the administration of villages was often a highly sophisticated affair showing many similarities to the political organisation of cities, to assume that village *boulai* existed in this area is to force the issue. The assumption that dependent villages must have lacked the sophistication of autonomous units is completely incorrect.[140] Our view of the Arabian and Syrian countryside is being impeded by our inability to determine the status of most of its villages, whose administrative relationship to the surrounding countryside remains obscure. Consequently, other criteria will have to be employed to outline the internal administrative divisions of the Decapolis. My efforts have focused on the territories of a few selected *poleis*, leaving aside more prominent municipal clusters such as Gerasa, Bostra and Philadelphia. I have tried to reveal the difficulties surrounding the application of some of the criteria used without much question by earlier scholars. My most promising sample, that containing village inscriptions that refer to 'undifferentiated' *bouleutai*, suggests to me (though seen against the background of a highly sophisticated network of specialised officials) that most of the villages in this area were not autonomous.

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[139] Millar (1993) 426.

[140] Cf. Sartre (1991) 328–9, who has to admit that the character of village government cannot be used to determine the status of villages.

List of Abbreviations

AAES	W.K. Prentice et alii (eds), *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900* (New York 1908).
AE	*L'année épigraphique* (Paris 1888).
BE	*Bulletin Épigraphique* (Paris 1938).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1863).
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris 1881).
I. Eph.	H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach et alii (eds), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 8 volumes (Bonn 1979-1984).
IGLS	L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, J.-P. Rey-Coquais and M. Sartre (eds), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris 1929).
IGR	R. Cagnat et alii (eds), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (Paris 1906-1927).
I.Sestos	J. Kraus (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Sestos und der Thrakischen Chersonesos* (Bonn 1980).
PA	R. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, 3 volumes (Strasbourg 1903–1905).
PAES	H.C. Butler et alii (eds), *Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909*, 4 volumes (Leyden 1907-1949).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leyden-Amsterdam 1923-).
Wad.	Ph. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris 1870).

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ANCIENT HUMOUR

Paul Schulten

"An egghead went for a dip and almost drowned. As a result, he swore never to go near the water again before first learning how to swim."[1] This is the second joke in a unique joke book, the *Philogelos*, put together in around the fifth century AD. Its uniqueness has nothing to do with its being particularly hilarious. We may smile at this joke, but only a small child would be likely to laugh heartily at it. Children are still able to enjoy the fault in the 'egghead''s reasoning and the joke's simplicity does not yet bother them. The *Philogelos* is unique because it is the only joke book to have survived from the ancient world. It contains 265 jokes, many of which feature a so-called egghead (*scholastikos*) as protagonist.[2] The main characteristic of the egghead is that he tries again and again to reason clearly, but fails to do so. The consumer of the joke could thus revel in his own superior reasoning.

The fact that the *Philogelos* is the only ancient joke book in existence could be due either to bad luck or to the over-serious attitudes of medieval monks. The Greeks and Romans themselves were obviously quite interested in such collections; many of them existed and they were apparently quite popular.[3] The *Philogelos* was part of a long tradition that went back at least as far as the famous Comedians' Club in the Athens of Demosthenes.[4] We are told that Philip II of Macedon paid no less than one talent for a copy of the club's joke book.[5] Cicero himself probably put three such collections together, and during Augustus' reign a rhetorician called Melissus

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[1] Translation in Baldwin (1983) 1.

[2] See Rapp (1951) 286–290, and especially Baldwin (1983) 52, for other possible translations of *scholastikos* as professor or pedant.

[3] Reekmans (1992) 191. On ancient joke books see Bremmer (1997) 16–18.

[4] See Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 614d–e, on this club. Bremmer (1997) 15.

[5] Baldwin (1983) x.

compiled no fewer than 150 volumes of jokes.[6] A well-known character in Plautus, the parasite Gelasimos, sells humorous stories to pay for his food.[7] Now Gelasimos calls his merchandise *logos ridiculos* in Latin. *Ridiculus* means that which arouses laughter, just as his own name does in Greek. Cicero and Quintilian use the same word to denote humour.[8] According to Quintilian, *ridicula* are intentional jokes and have something in common with urbanity.[9] Preferably, they should be produced by an urbane wit.

Aristotle distinguished between two kinds of wit: the ability to enjoy a joke and the ability to make one.[10] It seems obvious that humour can be produced either intentionally or unintentionally. In the last century Samuel Butler said that in his opinion the best humour and irony were generally quite unconscious. This article will concern itself with both forms as they appeared in the classical world. What techniques did the Greeks and Romans use deliberately to stir up laughter and what circumstances brought forth laughter unsolicited? The answers will reveal what constituted a sense of humour in ancient society. It is important that we should take our own sense of humour into account, since all studies of humour are in one way or another comparative. The funniness of words or situations can only be acknowledged by reference to our own sense of humour. We are, furthermore, much influenced by modern theories of humour, developed in various studies of philosophy, psychology and sociology by, for instance, Bergson, Freud and Apte.

Discussing ancient humour, then, involves us in constantly going back and forth in time, a process made possible by the relative continuity of European humour.[11] In order to structure this process more clearly I shall refer again and again to early modern Europe and especially to the Netherlands. I shall make no distinction between

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[6] Suetonius, *De grammaticis*, 21.

[7] Plautus, *Stichus*, 221. On Gelasimos as a type of jester in Plautus see Corbett (1986) 11–26.

[8] See for instance Cicero, *De oratore* II, 63: *Notissimum ridiculi genus cum aliud expectamus aliud dicitur.*

[9] Quintilian, *Inst. or.* 6, 3–17. See Reekmans (1992) 189 on this.

[10] Aristotle, *Ethica Eud.* III 7, 1234a.

[11] Palmer (1994) 52.

Greek and Roman humour because they did not differ very much,[12] although the Romans may have had a greater fondness than the Greeks for a punchline. Cicero distinguishes between two ways of moulding humour: the *dicacitas* and the *cavillatio*. The first is the one-liner, the second a somewhat longer comic narration.[13] One recognises the Romans' penchant for punchlines even in their longer comic stories, as, for instance, in the famous satire *The Apocolocyntosis* (or Pumpkinification) *of Claudius*.[14] In this work by Seneca the deceased emperor Claudius, presented as an object of ridicule, tries to go to heaven:

> An announcement was made to Jupiter that there was a visitor of a respectable size and with very white hair. He was making some sort of threat, as he kept shaking his head; he was also dragging his right foot. When asked his nationality, he had made some answer with a confused noise and in indistinct tones. It was impossible to understand his language: he was neither Greek nor Roman, nor of any known race... Seeing the strange sort of appearance and the weird walk and hearing the hoarse and incomprehensible voice that belonged to no land creature but seemed more appropriate to a seamonster, Hercules thought his thirteenth labour had arrived.[15]

The last seven words seem to quicken the pace of the story in line with the Roman preference for short, striking expressions.

History and humour

In 1977 Keith Thomas still found it necessary to defend the proposition that the study of laughter was an appropriate theme for historical enquiry.[16] Nowadays that battle, if there ever was one, seems to be over. Historical research into what made people laugh during a certain period (and into what was considered taboo even in jokes) has become

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[12] Arnott, however, says that nobody in Rome would have laughed if Plautus had simply copied the work of Menander. Arnott (1977) 306.

[13] *Percutum ac breve*. Cicero, *De oratore* II, 218.

[14] Reekmans (1992) 191, for instance, sees in Plutarch a strong predilection for the *cavillatio* that is lacking in the works of Suetonius. He finds their senses of humour quite alike.

[15] Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 5.2–3, in J.P. Sullivan's translation, Penguin Books, 1986.

[16] Thomas (1977).

rather fashionable. Humour, of course, reflects the interests and the mentality of the period in which it is produced.[17] Laughter may reveal tensions in a society, since it is commonly used to dispel tensions or to play with them.[18] It can also supply a good deal of information on the side about the values of past societies.[19] It is, after all, value systems that determine whether or not something can be considered funny. Value systems are subject to change.[20] Let me give two examples. In his famous treatise on the use of humour, Quintilian mentions an apparently comic attack made in a court of justice by Lucius Crassus on his opponent Brutus.[21] Crassus made his point by asking Brutus where certain of his father's estates were. Quintilian felt obliged to explain the nature of this attack to his readers, writing that Brutus had sold these estates and that in those days, during the first century BC, it was considered somewhat discreditable to sell your father's land. From his explanation we may draw the conclusion that in his own time, the first century AD, such sales were considered normal. This is a very interesting fact and seems to counter one of Moses Finley's main arguments against the existence of a market for estates.[22]

Another joke may tell us something about the times at which husbands tended to make love to their wives. A certain Servilius Geminus dined one night at the house of the famous portraitist Lucius Mallius. Dinner went well, but on seeing that his host's sons were ugly and of poor physique Servilius could not withhold a mocking remark: "Your statuary art is not as good as your painting." "Of course not," replied Mallius, "I do my sculpting at night, while I paint in the day-time."[23] It is too far-fetched to conclude that in ancient times husbands exercised their marital rights exclusively in the dark, but the delighted audience of this successful joke must at least have assumed that this was customary.

The first example also shows that humorous remarks very often have quite a short life span. According to the Dutch sociologist A.

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[17] Cameron (1993) 8.

[18] Apte (1985).

[19] On this see Verberckmoes (1986) 3–8.

[20] Zijderveld (1971) 64 remarks that different senses of humour are the results not only of historical change but also of changes in the socio-cultural context.

[21] Quintilianus, *Institutiones oratoriae* VI 3, 44.

[22] Finley (1973) 118–120.

[23] Macrobius, *Saturnalia* II, 164–10.

Zijderveld, humour is playing with significations, with or without intent.[24] Historical change can be drastic and that is why past attempts at humour often have to be explained. Jokes die or change outside their own socio-cultural contexts and did so even within the classical world, in which change was slow by modern standards.[25] Some jokes, however, survive the passing of time. It is interesting to consider why this happens in specific cases. Why, for instance, are the silent movies of Ben Turpin and Charlie Chaplin now of largely archaeological interest as humour, while those of Laurel and Hardy still provoke spontaneous laughter? Very few ancient jokes still have that sort of power. We need to explain why.

Historical research into ancient humour can make use of all sorts of sources.[26] Joke books and ancient comedies have already been mentioned. Other literary genres will also be taken into account, together with festivals of a comic character and funny images. We no longer have at our disposal the many treatises on humour produced by Aristotle and the Hellenistic writers.[27] We do, however, still have two famous treatises that touch on the use of humour: those of Cicero and Quintilian,[28] meant primarily to help orators to use humour efficiently. These two works in particular offer us some hope of being able to answer this article's basic questions: what was thought funny, and under what circumstances were certain jokes allowed? We shall begin by investigating the sorts of humour that were regarded as compatible with or contrary to etiquette. Special attention will be given to the significance of humour to the public images of the powerful. The last section of this article will be dedicated to a comparison with the modern world. Its final conclusion will be, as expected, that there are marked similarities, but that the differences are striking as well.

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[24] Zijderveld (1983) 6.

[25] Zijderveld, ibid., 49. See also Aristoteles, *Pol.* V 452 D en 457 B, which gives good examples of this relativity of humour in time.

[26] In support of this view see Halliwell (1991) 280.

[27] Süss (1920) 43.

[28] On Cicero see Rabbie (1986).

Manners in joking

The works of Cicero and Quintilian exercised a considerable influence on comic thought in early modern Europe. This can be seen, for instance, in the many books on etiquette that were written during this period.[29] All of them recommended moderation in humour.[30] Many specifically forbade laughing at the physical defects or mishaps of others. An early example of this prohibition appears in Castiglione's *Il cortigiano,* written at the beginning of the sixteenth century. From the seventeenth century onwards the élite of most European countries began to imitate the Greeks and Romans in imposing limitations on their own use of humour.[31] Most of these seem to have been copied from the works of Cicero and Quintilian. These two rhetoricians had not, however, been writing about general rules of conduct. Their aim was to help the orator by explaining to him the possible advantages and disadvantages of being funny in a performance before the courts of justice. Funny remarks were meant to be agreeable to the judges and to get them in a favourable mood. This idea related, of course, to a very specific setting and tells us very little about ancient tastes for other forms of humour in day-to-day life. No Greek or Roman would ever have thought that the prescriptions of either rhetor were meant for general application. Cicero and Quintilian strongly advise, for instance, against jokes about things held in high repute or people regarded as pitiful.[32] It is clear that such restraint was only meant for the courts, since in everyday life this sort of joking was extremely popular. Just as popular were puns on names. Cicero himself never tired of hinting at the similarity between the name of his enemy Verres and the word for boar.[33] The author of the *Vita Gordiani* cheerfully tells us that Gordian II, reputedly a great lover, was alternatively nicknamed by his contemporaries the Priam or the Priapus of his century. Quintilian strongly disapproves of such

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[29] See De Man (1993) 93–136. More generally, see Elias (1978).

[30] As Erasmus was already doing in his *Goede manierlijcke zeden* (Antwerpen 1546).

[31] See, for instance, Thomas (21.1.1977).

[32] For the same opinion see Garland (1995) 76.

[33] On Cicero and these puns see Corbeill (1996) 91–97.

comical sorties,[34] not because he thought them unfunny but because easy puns were not effective in court.[35] It should be noted that Cicero himself was often criticised for his immoderate jesting. In his biography Plutarch remarks that "his readiness to indulge in jests and pleasantries was thought indeed to be a pleasant characteristic of a pleader; but Cicero carried it to excess and so annoyed many and got the reputation of being malicious."[36]

The Forum was not the only place governed by rules. The same attitude appears in the various prescriptions for decent table conversation. In his *quaestiones conviviales,* Plutarch discusses the jokes that are or are not pleasing at the dinner table.[37] The first advice he gives is never to joke if you do not have a gift for doing so. More importantly, he observes that most jokes are at somebody's expense and so incur ill will.[38] He tells the story of the tyrant Lysimachus, who, trying to be funny during dinner, suddenly showed a wooden scorpion to a parasite of his. The startled cadger pulled himself together and retaliated by saying to Lysimachus, who was well known for his stinginess, "I'll strike terror into you too. Give me a silver talent." Lysimachus was not at all amused and the blunt parasite probably lost his place at the table. According to Plutarch it is quite difficult to please the victim of your wit. It can only be done by making fun of manifestly non-existent shortcomings and thereby throwing a spotlight on good qualities.

If one does try to be funny about physical defects, it is permissible to make jokes about a long nose but absolutely not about body odour. A jocular remark about baldness may be welcomed, but not one about blindness or a hump.[39] Plutarch warns aspiring wits to consider

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[34] Quintilian was such an admirer of Cicero that he thought that these puns had been wrongly attributed to him. Quintilianus, *Institutiones oratoriae* 6,3,4. The famous orator himself, however, welcomed jokes of this sort. Cicero, *De oratore* 2,63,256. On this see De Saint-Denis (1965) 114–116.

[35] See, however, Suetonius, *Claudius* 21,5. This emperor's jokes are considered feeble (*arcessitus, frigidus*); the example used to prove this is a pun on names.

[36] Plutarch, *Cicero* 5,4.

[37] Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 2,1.

[38] See, for instance, Nero's reaction in Tacitus, *Annales* 15,68.

[39] Baldwin nonetheless states that baldness was widely regarded as an ignoble characteristic (Baldwin [1983] 68), citing Plato, *Republic,* 495e, and Plutarch, *Moralia,* 607a. On baldness as an indication of debauchery see Deroux (1990). It was certainly not wise to make jokes about baldness in the presence of the bald Domitian.

carefully who is present at the table. Jokes that are welcome among peers can be mortifying in the presence of one's spouse or father. A spouse, apparently, only wants to hear about the fidelity of her husband and a father about the thriftiness of his son. Plutarch makes it clear that many dinner-table jests must have been cracked about the vices that are the opposite of these virtues, since otherwise there would have been no point in his advising so strongly against them. His remark about body odour is revealing in the same way; it can only mean that this too was a favourite subject. That this was indeed the case is proved by the *Philogelos*. No fewer than a dozen jokes in this collection deal with the theme of bad breath.[40] This was clearly a fairly common ancient condition and most certainly a popular comical subject. Plutarch, like his Roman counterpart Suetonius, kept to the rules of the orators: there are no obscene jokes or puns on names in the works of either.[41] Both must have felt themselves to be amongst the happy few with good taste, following Quintilian's well-known advice that it was much better to waste a good joke than to lose a friend.[42]

Satirists and powerful people

In researching the comical, it is obvious that it is important to consider texts or images that are meant to be funny or conceived of as such. This poses no problems with most literary texts: there can be no doubt that a comedy is meant to be funny, and most jokes are labelled as such by the author, often with an apology for his supposedly daring behaviour. Other genres are, however, more complicated. A case in point is Roman satire. Horace is always considered intentionally funny, but what about Juvenal? A.D. Leeman, for instance, calls Juvenal's famous diatribe against women as comical as it is repugnant.

For some examples of Roman jokes about hunchbacks see Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 2.4.8. and 2.6.4. It is notable that Macrobius puts his first joke about the hunchback Galba into the mouth of Augustus, whose humour he held in high regard. On hunchbacks see Garland (1995) 117, 126.

[40] Baldwin (1983) 106. Baldwin gives many other references besides the jest book.

[41] Reekmans (1992) 230.

[42] Quintilian, 6.3.28.

One page later, however, he characterises Juvenal as somebody who was not much given to joking.[43] An ambivalent approach to Juvenal is also noticeable in the diversity of translations that have appeared, their lightness of touch varying according to the translator's attitude to their original.[44]

A modern reader of Juvenal will certainly find it hard to discern any essentially comic intent. Juvenal's invective against his favourite victims seems so crushing that it is hard to regard its motives as light-hearted. That, however, is what we must do. The French classicist De Saint-Denis rightly points out Juvenal's language and his parodies of famous epic lines. De Saint-Denis speaks of *l'humour amer*, the bitter humour, of Juvenal.[45] Perhaps 'bitter' is not even the right word. For instance, at the beginning of his satire against women Juvenal remarks that it is odd for a man to get married while there are bridges over the Tiber from which he can hang himself. The exaggeration is almost too hyperbolic to be considered sour.

Grumbling about people may be done with comic intent. A clear argument for this is to be found in a letter written by Pliny the Younger.[46] Pliny writes that he has included in the letter some *hendecasyllabos* or verses of eleven syllables. Apparently this form was often used to express improprieties in a witty way.[47] Pliny almost apologises for these verses and clearly feels the need to defend himself. He also remarks that one is inclined to write such trifles when one has nothing serious to do; when, for example, one is taking a bath, travelling in one's carriage or having dinner.[48] It was apparently at such moments that he wrote these *hendecasyllables*, which consist of jokes, witticisms, sorrows, complaints and vexations.[49] They were meant to please a broad audience. Pliny excuses himself by citing the

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[43] Leeman, (1979) 255–256. Russell surprisingly sees nothing at all humorous in Juvenal. Russell (1991) 108.

[44] A recent Dutch example of the lighter approach is the translation of the Satires by M. d'Hane. D'Hane-Scheltema (1984).

[45] De Saint-Denis (1965) 224–234. Also Reekmans (1992) 204.

[46] Pliny, *Epistulae* 4,14.

[47] Aristotle said that wit was cultured insolence. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2,12 1389b.

[48] Suetonius, for instance, writes approvingly of the good emperor Augustus' habit of writing epigrams in the bath. Suetonius, *Augustus* 85.2.

[49] According to Paul Veyne, descriptions of the sorrows and aggravations caused by love are also used in a humorous way by the Roman elegiac poets. See Veyne (1983) 41–59.

well-known words of the poets Catullus and Martial to the effect that decent persons can make indecent verses. In the same way, serious people could indulge in humorous trivialities.

Besides elaborating on the proper themes for light verse, Pliny describes the proper occasions for humour. Dinner, with its ensuing symposium, was the most important of these.[50] In another letter he expresses his gratitude for some verses dedicated to him by his client Martial. He declares himself very pleased that Martial has left him to his serious business during the daytime, flatteringly comparing his oratorical talent with that of Cicero. He is equally satisfied with Martial's stated reason for sending him his Muse at a later hour:

> Muse, do not knock at his learned door drunk, and at a time ill chosen;
> All the hours of his working day he devotes to crabbed Minerva,
> While he prepares for the Hundred Court the speeches which after ages
> Judge to be worthy of taking place by those of the son of Arpinum.
> Wait till the lamps burn late and low, when Bacchus is ruling the revels,
> Safer the night, when the brow is crowned with the rose and the hair drips perfume;
> This is your hour, when the Puritans' frown can relax with a smile for my verses.[51]

It is clear that although witticisms were of lesser status than more serious utterances they should not be underestimated. Conversational success at an important social function such as a dinner party was not to be sneezed at. Humour was undoubtedly part of the sort of conversation that was highly thought of. Those with the wittiest repartee, or even a routine of prepared jokes, were often admired for it. This applied even to women. Sallust ascribed exceptional gifts to Catiline's friend Sempronia, considering her wit in particular remarkable because "she could hold her own in repartee."[52] In other respects, characteristically of his attitude to women, he called her the committer of many crimes that were audacious enough to have been the work of a man.

In antiquity there were divergent views about attempts at humour depending on the personality or the occasion. Augustus was well

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[50] On the history and meaning of symposia see Murray (1990) and Slater (1991).
[51] Pliny, *Epistulae* 3,21. Translation by B. Radice (Loeb ed.).
[52] Sallust, *Jugurtha* 24.

known for his wit.[53] Many jokes were attributed to him and his reputation was only the better for it. Two examples will suffice. Some envoys from the Spanish town of Tarragona once came to Augustus and enthusiastically announced that they had witnessed a fantastic omen: a palm tree had sprung up on the altar of the emperor. Augustus dryly replied that it would seem that not many sacrifices were burnt there.[54] In another story the poet L. Varius asked the emperor, who had literary ambitions, how he was getting on with his tragedy about the Greek hero Ajax. Since he had made no progress at all, Augustus was in trouble, but he saved himself by saying wittily that his Ajax had thrown himself on a sponge, implying that he had had to wipe out his attempt at literary glory.[55] The Romans enjoyed what was presumably the swiftness of the repartee and the parallel with the epic fate of Ajax, who committed suicide by throwing himself on a sword.[56] During the Renaissance the image of the laughing prince became popular again in deliberate imitation of Roman practice.[57] The ideal prince was capable of meting out unprepared witticisms and also of putting up with them. In later times many versions still existed of a joke originally told against Augustus.[58] The emperor sees his double in the streets of Rome, and asks him jokingly whether his mother lives in Rome too. "No," says the double, "but my father did." Augustus and some of his later colleagues were or pretended to be pleased by this quick answer and public opinion certainly admired them for it.

Wit, however, could not always save a reputation that had already been too badly damaged. Suetonius' biography of Tiberius is not a favourable description of that emperor. Neither did Tiberius' own attempts at humour meet with any approval. Augustus' successor must nevertheless have been a remarkable joker. His answer to a deputation from Ilium (ancient Troy) is proof enough of that. When the envoys offered, a year after the event, their condolences upon the death of his son Drusus, the emperor told them that they too had his sympathy for

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[53] His sense of humour is thought highly of in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2,4,1.

[54] Quintilian, *Inst. or.* 6,3,77.

[55] Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2,4,2.

[56] On admiration for this quick repartee see Van der Horst (1978) 171.

[57] See Bowen (1984).

[58] In the anecdotes of Aernout van Overbeke, for instance. Dekker en Roodenburg (1991) 337.

the loss of their eminent fellow-citizen Hector.[59] Humour, however, was characteristically seen as a clear symptom of Tiberius' nefarious personality by his biographer, who took it for the very opposite in the case of his adoptive father.

The anecdote about Augustus that has already been told is an example of what are called wandering jokes or anecdotes, jokes that are told over a long period with only slight variations. They are important because they show the continuity through time of humour with certain sorts of content. The success of jokes is often short-lived, but in wandering jokes we find the opposite. Many of them are still told, although sometimes in modern dress. As in most fields of human endeavour, humour offers an image of change or continuity. Our wandering joke exhibits both. Insinuations concerning the virtue of the mother of a high-ranking personality would not drive the people of today wild with mirth, but the use of such figures for comic purposes seems to be a lasting phenomenon. The Greek orator Dio Chrysostom once wrote that in comedy a drunken slave does not raise much of a laugh, while a drunken Heracles certainly would.[60] Dio was pointing out the extra comic value of high rank, on which, albeit to a lesser extent, we can still count. It would never work nowadays to put a substantial body of popular witticisms into the mouth of, for instance, a member of the Windsor family. The Windsors still function as favourite objects for comic attack, in which sense the popular predilection for comic anecdotes about high-ranking people has shown continuity. They are, however, seldom depicted as the inventors of witticisms, as Augustus was. In this respect people of great rank have lost their dominant position in humour, probably because the gap between these people and ordinary mortals no longer appears quite so wide.[61]

In antiquity that chasm was still there. The emperor was a ruler elevated above his mortal subjects and as such light years away from them. He was nonetheless mortal himself and could improve his public image by recognising that fact.[62] Condescending to show a

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[59] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 52.

[60] Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes* 32, 94.

[61] The fact that only a few names other than those of princes were widely known throughout the ancient world may also have fostered their prominence in jokes.

[62] See Pliny's praise of Trajan in *Paneg.* 2,4.

earthly sense of humour was one way of doing that and of being admired for his civil conduct.[63] We can detect, for instance, considerable approval for the dying emperor Vespasian, who, on his way to an even more exalted position, is supposed to have uttered the justly famous words, "O dear, I am afraid I'm becoming a God,"[64] combining irony and self-mockery in one beautiful clause. For the purposes of this study it does not matter whether or not Vespasian really said that. The words could have been put into his mouth by malicious senators, as Schmidt assumes.[65] For Suetonius, however, Augustus and Vespasian were the two great models of imperial behaviour, and as we have seen, wit was part of that.[66]

It seems obvious why Suetonius should have recorded these words as a final proof of Vespasian's wit. The comedy derives from the admirably self-mocking irony, the incongruity of the words and the shortness of the sentence. According to Quintilian brevity is essential to witty remarks. This is a thought that many others have since adopted, including Shakespeare in his well-known phrase "brevity is the soul of wit."

The emperor's elevated status gave a substance to his jokes that was sometimes furthered by contrast with the more lowly position of his interlocutors. It had been no different in Greece. When Dionysius, the mighty tyrant of Syracuse, asked the philosopher Aristippus teasingly why philosophers still went to rich men's houses while rich men no longer visited philosophers, Aristippus replied, "the one knows what he needs while the other does not."[67] This story must have been preserved out of admiration both for Aristippus' quickness of wit and for his frankness towards one of the mighty (*dicacitas*). His frankness in particular was thought incongruent with the persons involved and was thus experienced as funny. In this sort of way philosophers often came to play the role that later ages bestowed on

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[63] On this see Wallace-Hadrill (1982).

[64] Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian* 22.

[65] Schmidt (1978) 87–88. According to him a tendency to self-mockery was not one of this emperor's stronger characteristics. For a different opinion see Graf (1937) 107 and Fishwick (1965) 157.

[66] On this attitude of Suetonius' see Wallace-Hadrill (1982) 45.

[67] Diogenes Laërtius, *Vitae* 2,68.

the court fool.[68] This role was, of course, to become more ritualised, but the parallels seem obvious. Parasites such as Gelasimos could also play the part of the bold jester, but sometimes more as buffoons than as accomplished wits. Both characters can, of course, be found amongst medieval jesters too.

Barbers and doctors

Incongruity has always been one of the most popular sources of amusement, as much among the Greeks and the Romans as today. Two incompatible contexts are put together in one story or sentence, such as "One swallow doesn't quench the thirst." Incongruity functions in the same way as the mechanism that Plato called *kata prosdokian*: the unexpected takes place or is said and this creates a comic moment.[69] A good example of this is the *Philogelos'* modern-sounding joke about a barber. The barber asks a customer how he wants to be shaved, to which the client replies, "in silence." This joke has survived the ages. It would appear that the technique of *"aliud expectamus aliud dicitur"* (we expect something other than what is being said) still works today just as it did in the days of Plato. Technique alone is not sufficient for survival. For the joke to provoke laughter, the reputation of barbers for loquacity needs not to have undergone too many changes since Greek and Roman times.[70] Apparently it has not. The wittiness of this joke is enhanced by its abrupt brevity. Brevity in jokes demands a certain economy of characterisation. Recognisable types are necessary, whose typical characteristics can easily be exaggerated in a comic way. Barbers still live up to these requirements and thus remain suitable objects for a long roving joke.

Most societies have at their disposal types that are calculated to inspire laughter. In our age we may, for instance, think of the mother-in-law, a 'flat character', as it is called in the cinematographic world. Her classical counterpart was the figure of the stingy old man, who

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[68] According to Wallace-Hadrill (1982) 39, their appearance symbolises the end of free speech.

[69] See, for instance, Süss (1920) 28–45.

[70] See Baldwin (1983) 89, on the proverbial loquacity of barbers in antiquity.

appears frequently in the ancient comedies. Other flat characters were found in the representatives of certain professions. Among the Greeks and the Romans medical men served that purpose.[71] The medical profession was already being used as a butt in some of Aristophanes' comedies and remained a laughing stock in almost all literary genres in antiquity.[72] The only exception seems to have been the ancient novel, in which a more positive image of the doctor appears.[73] Elsewhere we tend to find two particular comic assaults on the profession: doctors are depicted as both greedy and lethal. If you wish to die and lose a lot of money in the process, your best option would be a visit to a consulting room. A Greek epigram tells of a medical man who is, to his grief, paying out a lot of money to a literature teacher to educate his son in reading the Greats.[74] When he enquires of his offspring how he is getting on the youngster recites Homer's famous line on Achilles, who sent many powerful men to the Underworld. Glumly the father remarks that he could have taught him how to do that himself. Here, as in many other jokes, medicine is associated with both death and high fees to comic effect.

The same theme appears in a joke in the *Philogelos*. A doctor from Sidon inherits one thousand drachmas from a former patient. During the funeral he complains about the amount of the bequest. When the son of the deceased in turn asks for his services the doctor says, "If you leave me five thousand drachmas from your estate I'll treat you as well as I did your father." Why were jokes such as these apparently considered funny? In the first example there is bisociation or incongruity between the quotation from literature and the father's literal interpretation. Furthermore, people reading the epigram must have enjoyed seeing a verse of epic poetry used to comic effect. Parodies of hallowed masterpieces were highly regarded.[75] Most of the fun, however, must have been derived from the way in which the outcome

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[71] After the barber and the doctor, philosophers, artists, cooks, soldiers, lawyers and rhetoricians were favourite targets. See Brecht (1920).

[72] Schulten (1995) 245. The predilection for certain types does not seem to be tied to specific periods. See Brecht (1920) 103. On the antiquity of the allegations usually made against doctors see Gil en Alfageme (1972) 43–44. On various attitudes to doctors see Amundsen (1977) and Nutton (1985).

[73] Amundsen (1974) 320–337.

[74] Anth. Pal. 11,125. On this epigram see Brecht (1920) 46.

[75] See for instance Saint-Denis (1965) 231.

inverts the actual objective of the medical art. The technique of inversion has always been one of the most popular sources of hilarity.[76] Whereas the joke relies upon inversion alone, the epigram is made more complicated by the addition of the bisociation. Naturally, this complexity is an essential ingredient of the genre.

How could doctors have become such popular objects of ridicule in antiquity? Many psychological explanations of humour tend to look to fear for an answer. According to these theories people try to overcome their worst fears by ridiculing them. In ancient times as now, the fear of death is undeniably one of mankind's worst. It may have been even greater then than now, because life expectancy was much shorter and many people saw death as the end of things.[77] In the words of Horace, *mors ultima linea rerum est*: death is the last line. Humour can help to make that fact more acceptable, as in the rather peculiar inscription on a Roman grave: "Gravedigger beware, somebody already lies here." Doctors are always close to death. That connection could be one of the reasons why doctors appear so frequently in jokes.

Apart from this bond between medicine and death, we may see another cause in the somewhat problematic status of medical men in antiquity. There were two reasons for this. In the first place there was a significant distinction between two kinds of doctor. The physician-philosopher had the better reputation. He treated his patients on the principle that their whole way of life should be taken into account. The artisan-doctor, on the other hand, was not schooled in philosophy and literature, excelling instead in cutting and cleaving like the surgeons of the seventeenth century. There was considerable tension between the two groups.[78] The famous Roman doctor Galen once remarked that physicians in Rome differed from country footpads in one respect only: they stole inside the city walls. Galen may have made this sarcastic observation out of contempt for the artisan-doctors. There is, however, another possibility. According to Hippocrates, a physician must have a certain wit at his disposal.[79] It could be that medical professionals themselves were in the habit of joking

[76] See for instance Segal (1970).

[77] On life expectancy see Hopkins (1983) 69–98 and Saller (1994) 12–25. On belief in life after death see Hopkins (1983) 226–232.

[78] See Kudlien (1979) and the excellent article by Pleket (1983) 325–347.

[79] Hippocrates *Dec.* 7.

about their activities. This was certainly so among members of the professional classes in the seventeenth century. Lawyers such as the Dutchman Aernout van Overbeecke collected many jokes about their colleagues.[80] If this should prove to have been the case in antiquity as well, it would explain the many medical jokes.[81]

Ancient philosophers undoubtedly made jokes about each other. The Greek orator Lucian wrote of a famous philosopher of his own age (the second century AD), Demonax, who was famous for his witty repartee. Many of his humorous attacks were directed against his fellow-philosophers.[82] This tends to support the idea that medics may have joked amongst themselves as well.

Let us return to the question of status. Many doctors suffered from what in sociology is called status inconsistency.[83] Hardly any were born into the highest strata of society. Their vital function, however, often commanded respect and a great deal of money.[84] In Greek and Roman society affluent people who had risen above their original status often became targets of ridicule and scorn. Successful former slaves, cooks and military men were laughed at. Plautus' *miles gloriosus* and Petronius' Trimalchio have more in common than just their Eastern background. Both earned the contempt and scorn of the upper classes by working hard to obtain money and succeeding in doing so. Thus doctors were attacked by the elite for their assumed rapacity. Such attacks are absent from Graeco-Roman novels, whose readers were to be found amidst the lower social strata and would therefore probably not have felt so much contempt for medical professionals.

A final element of the explanation is probably the fixed relation between medicine and illness. Being ill is a deviation from normality and as such can have a comic effect. Deformed people were a constant source of amusement to the Greeks and Romans. Dwarfs in particular

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[80] Dekker and Roodenburg (1984) 243–266.

[81] This may be especially true of jokes whose protagonist is a witty or acerbic doctor. See Amundsen (1977) 651–652.

[82] See for instance Lucian, *Demonax*, 14. A would-be philosopher says, "If Aristotle calls me to the Lyceum, I'll go. If Plato calls me to the Academy, I'll go. Also if Zeno calls me to the Stoa Poikile. If I get a call from Pythagoras, I'll stay quiet." Demonax: "Hey, you, Pythagoras just called you."

[83] See Hopkins (1978) 74–96, and especially Hopkins (1974) 103–120.

[84] Many of them were rich manumitted slaves. Scarborough (1969) 111.

were made fun of. Greek vase paintings frequently depict them as an amusing antithesis to normal or heroic persons.[85] In art, pygmies were among the protagonists of most humorous images.[86] The Iliad contains many examples of cruel laughter at other people's misery.[87] Rome had a famous *forum morionum*, a market for fools. Many of these poor slaves must have been dwarfs, and as such in big demand.[88] (Disfiguration, by the way, can only be thought funny in societies with a well-defined idea of shapeliness.) Not only the sight but the mere mention of infirmities could be a cause of merriment.[89] The connection with a doctor is easily made. In the seventeenth century too there was a link between amusing illness and the doctor. In the pictures of the Dutch artist Jan Steen, for instance, we often see a doctor in the background. This means that we are looking at a comic scene. A sick person, often a woman, is the other protagonist of these humorous paintings. The sickness is frequently supposed to be imaginary. This apparently caused even more merriment, since it defused anxiety about actual sickness.

It seems improbable that individual doctors or the profession as a whole should have become the butt of lay derision because the medical care of the time was so underdeveloped.[90] This sounds like an anachronistic argument and also fails to explain the comic attacks made on other professionals. Like the barber, the doctor has survived many ages as a comic type. Sickness and death were favourite themes for humorists in the seventeenth century too.[91] The comic accusations levelled against doctors may have changed a bit.[92] Molière and his contemporaries chose particularly to attack the pedantry and sciolism of doctors. Although not entirely ignored, this were only minor targets for Greek and Roman comedians. The same can be said of another aspect of medical life: intimacy with the human body, with all its

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[85] See Dasen (1993).

[86] Cèbe (1966) 345, even estimates that this was the case in more than seventy per cent of such images.

[87] Meltzer (1989–90) 265–280.

[88] See Garland (1995) 104, for their supposed talismanic qualities. On the popularity of dwarfs in the arena see Ville (1981) 263–264.

[89] Garland (1995) 73–86.

[90] This is the opinion expressed in Bremmer (1997) 17.

[91] See Dekker and Roodenburg (1993).

[92] Dekker and Roodenburg also regard the ambiguity of the doctor's status at this time as responsible for the fact that doctors so often came under comic attack.

concomitant sexual innuendos. This seems to be the dominant feature of modern jokes about doctors, but was used only rarely in ancient times.

This does not, of course, mean that sexual allusions in general were less prominent in ancient than in modern humour. Some scholars believe the contrary. They point to, for example, the epigrams of Martial, of which about twenty per cent have a clear sexual connotation. It would probably be impossible to write a quantitative history of the use of salacious jokes. It is therefore hard to make comparisons, although we can discern certain periods in history during which serious attempts were made to curb scurrilous humour. The Greeks and Romans never tried to do anything in this line comparable to what the Puritans did in England during the seventeenth century. At most they tried to avoid overly blatant obscenities as a sign of bad taste, as we have seen in the works of Plutarch and Suetonius and the rhetorical precepts of Cicero and Quintilian. *Obscenitas, non solum non foro digna sed vix convivio liberorum*:[93] obscenity should be absent not only from the forum, but also from almost every gathering of decent people. If the obscenities were well disguised, however, they were thought funny, and even appropriate to literature.[94] An example of this can be seen in the remark made about the marriage of the emperor Nero to his male friend Sporus: "I wish Nero's father had had a spouse like that." Suetonius apparently thought that this was witty enough to merit a place in his Life of Nero.

Differences and similarities

Can we detect any similarities or differences between ancient and modern Western humour? What was and is the purpose or function of the comedian? In a recent publication on ancient humour W.M.S. Russell concluded that there were no essential distinctions between the two, except that people in ancient times did not make much use of the innocent bystander, who, according to him, now figures im-

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[93] Cicero, *De oratore* 2.
[94] Richlin (1983) 58.

portantly in jokes.[95] We owe every modern comic technique and device we have to the Greeks and Romans; no society has been fonder of laughter, humour and comedy than they were. Russell has also declared that no other nation has set a higher value on these things. That seems to be putting it too strongly. The proportion of comedies in modern movie production alone contradicts that statement. Perhaps Russell has been carried away by a too classical sense of humour, but it is indeed interesting to note that some still current themes such as the ethnic joke already existed in antiquity. The ethnic joke seems pretty universal. Foreigners today are usually taxed with being stupid, stingy and/or oversexed. Things were no different in the ancient world.[96] The foreigners at whom fun was poked came from now obscure places such as Cyme, Sidon, Abdera and Upper Egypt, but they were comically assaulted in the same way. Freud has said that a person may pretend to be amused by the humorousness of a remark while it is in fact the content that he agrees with. This could, of course, account for the popularity of ethnic jokes in our own time. These jokes get round our repression of aggression towards outsiders and thus provide a release from tension.[97] The Greeks and Romans, however, suffered from no such inhibitions about invalidating foreigners. In this respect there was not much repression about, so that one can hardly apply a Freudian functional explanation to the ethnic humour that was ubiquitous. Freud is still very influential in the theory of humour. Society's or the individual's need to overcome tension is the most popular explanation of humour and much humour is illuminated by that beautiful German word 'Ventilsitte', which means a sort of social safety valve.[98] Other important functions of humour that are often referred to are relieving personal anxiety and fear, breaching inhibitions and celebrating consociality.[99]

Perhaps the question should not be what the function of humour is, but why we should want so humourless a functional explanation of

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[95] Russell (1991) 95.

[96] Zijderveld, however, regards these jokes as belonging mainly to industrial societies because of their changing social, geographic and moral boundaries. Zijderveld (1983) 51. See also Davies (1982) 383.

[97] Kline (1993) 156.

[98] See for instance Goffman (1976) 143–144.

[99] Palmer (1994) 62.

fun. Physically it is almost impossible to remain serious at all times, notwithstanding Plato's warning, in his Laws, that good people should never do or say anything ludicrous.[100] Plato was an exception.[101] Aristotle disagreed with him and said that a good life required relaxation, of which one form was playful conversation.[102] Good music needs counterpoint as well as a melody. Aristotle added the familiar comment that in joking too there was good and bad taste. The Greeks spent a lot of time discussing the contexts in which laughter was appropriate, inappropriate or even forbidden.[103] Quintilian admiringly called Asinius Pollio a man *omnium horarum* (in English, 'for all seasons'). He meant that Pollio was a gifted and serious person, but one who on occasion could also make a good joke, just as his later counterpart Sir Thomas More could. Late on in the evening after dinner he was more than capable of holding his ground in the required urbane manner.

Even a comically topsy-turvy world could be agreeable, but only during specified festival times such as the Saturnalia and Floralia in Rome. Normal times could, of course, also throw up a proper occasion for a joke, as is shown by the admiration that was felt for the wit of Augustus, Hadrian and some orators in court. On these occasions, however, humour should be used sparingly and within limits. Quintilian's remark about his use of examples in his discourse on humour is characteristic: he says that he would like to stop giving any lest his treatise should become a *compositio risus gratia*, just an ordinary joke book, meant only to raise a laugh. Excess in ridicule was for buffoons who wanted jokes at all costs. The jesting of a gentleman should differ from that of a servile person, and be moderate. A truly witty man should avoid being either boorish or a

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[100] Plato, *Laws* 7,816.

[101] As was the seventeenth century Dutch theologian Voetius, who wrote that it was better not to laugh at all because those who laughed on earth would cry in the hereafter. Cfr. Rousseau's words on Molière: "il fait rire, il est vrai, et n'en devient que plus coupable." Very interesting too is Tacitus' remark about the worthy Germans, who never laughed at vice as Roman satires did. Tacitus, *Germania* 19,3: *nemo enim illic vitia ridet.*

[102] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 4,8,1127b–1128b.

[103] On this see Halliwell (1991). His remarks on the contrast between innocent, playful laughter and harmful consequential laughter are particularly illuminating. Consequential laughter influences the process of personal and social relations beyond the immediate context.

buffoon.[104] Many literary figures felt obliged to excuse themselves when their works took a humorous turn, which probably explains Ammianus Marcellinus' well-known comments on Juvenal. According to Ammianus, times were bad in the third century AD. A symptom of this, he said, was the fact that the nobility had retreated to their country houses and read nothing other than the satires of Juvenal and the works of another inane inventor of words.[105] The implication must have been that they thereby failed to deal with serious and therefore worthier things. The Greeks and Romans of the élite clearly felt that a sense of humour was an asset that should be used sparingly. Later ages preserved this attitude, which in itself may explain our dour need for functional explanations.[106] Even scholars of the comic often feel the need to apologise. The ubiquitous excuses made for indulging in comic and often salacious banter by Catullus, Ovid, Martial and many others have an academic counterpart.

This does not mean that modern theories of humour should be discarded altogether. A symbolic-cultural or semiotic interpretation can be both rewarding and fashionable.[107] For instance, humour often refers to problems or taboos in society. Greek and Roman jokes, the age-old belief in the salubrity of laughter notwithstanding, point out very serious problems and it is indispensable that any student of that society should take them into account. Should you want a good laugh, however, I am afraid that they are not of much use unless you are a child or an antiquarian. This is so even though they seem to use exactly the same techniques as were and are used in early modern and modern Europe.[108] Perhaps our pace of communication has speeded up too much. The history of mankind contains an enormous accumulation of humorous experiences that makes more and more demands on the content of comedy in our time.

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[104] Van der Horst (1978) 167.

[105] Ammianus Marcellinus 28,4,14: *Quidam detestantes ut venena doctrinas, Juvenalem et Valerium Maximum curatiore studio legunt, nulla volumina praeter haec in profundo otio contrectantes* ....

[106] A recent book on humour states on its first page that the study of humour is primarily interesting because it improves our understanding of the serious world. Mulkay (1988) 1.

[107] Versnel took this approach to religion. Versnel (1993) 283–295.

[108] On this see Antony (1976).

One constant source of mirth amongst the Greeks and Romans, the comic force of the inversion present in ancient comedies, has already disappeared and now another is on the brink of vanishing: making fun of disfigurement. Reports in newspapers about dwarf throwing now elicit more criticism than amusement. Circuses employ fewer and fewer Lilliputians. This may be because people have become more civilised, or because they now have less fixed ideas about form. In this context it is interesting that we still have to prevent children from laughing too loudly at odd-looking people.

What has disappeared completely from modern Europe is the consciousness of a connection between joking and magic. It seems clear that somewhere in the distant past ritual joking must have had some magical meaning, as, for instance, the crude jokes made at the expense of newlyweds clearly did. The reasons for these must have been almost forgotten by the classical periods of Greece and Rome, but originally this kind of joking was supposed to have a prophylactic effect and was deliberately set beside the eulogies to the new spouses as a contrast. Such practices, of course, remind us of the comic attacks made on triumphant generals and of the origins of the famous festival of the Saturnalia.[109] All of these have a good old functional magic explanation.[110]

It seems clear that in any comparative study of humour in history the fading or disappearance of the comic force must be the most interesting phenomenon and should be the focus of attention. This approach will illuminate changing taboos and incongruences in society and sometimes reflect the genesis of new ones.

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[109] See, for instance, Cèbe (1966) 69 ss., and Duckworth (1952).

[110] The ritual of the Lupercalia, in which two boys of good family must laugh when some goat's blood previously smeared on their foreheads by priests has been removed, was probably supposed to fulfil much the same function. Plutarchus, *Romulus* 21.5.

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THE SPARTAN ARMY AT MANTINEA AND ITS ORGANISATION IN THE FIFTH CENTURY BC

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1. *Introduction*

In classical Sparta there was no clear demarcation between civil and military organisation. An understanding of Sparta's society therefore requires some understanding of its army and vice versa. There is, however, hardly a topic in Spartan history on which there is so little scholarly agreement as the organisation of the army during the classical period. The main reason for this is that our primary source of knowledge about fifth-century Sparta, Thucydides, has been treated more as a stumbling-block than as an informative guide. Moreover, Xenophon's account of Spartan military organisation in the fourth century has almost invariably been used to tamper with Thucydides' description of the army during the Mantinea campaign of 418 BC, and sometimes even with Herodotus' description of the army at the time of the Persian Wars. In my opinion this is totally unwarranted. As I hope to show, Thucydides is not guilty of the ignorance or the errors of which modern scholars have accused him. I shall argue that his evidence is not only to a large extent self-consistent, but can also be combined with the scarce evidence we have from other sources to reconstruct the Spartan army of the fifth century BC and to help us understand how Sparta's military organisation reflected the structures of Spartan society at large.

The Spartan army that Xenophon knew in the fourth century consisted of six *morai* or divisions. Each of these was made up of both Perioikoi and Spartans, whereas Herodotus tells us that during the early fifth century BC Spartans and Perioikoi fought in separate regiments or *lochoi.* The information we can gather from Thucydides in my view points to an army organised along the lines suggested by Herodotus, since, as we shall see, the Spartan army at Mantinea in 418

BC consisted of five Spartan *lochoi* just as it had in 479 BC. From this it follows that there is no need to posit a major reorganisation of the Spartan army at some time between 479 and 418 BC, as many modern historians have done. Nor is there any need to postulate a dramatic drop in the Spartan population between these dates, as again many scholars have. The picture that will emerge from the following pages will be one of continuity in military and demographic essentials from at least the late sixth to the late fifth century BC. Admittedly the Spartan army described by Xenophon will not fit into this picture, but that army was the result of changes made during the last years of the Peloponnesian War. Xenophon's Spartan army is, however, a subject that I wish to treat elsewhere. Here I hope to offer some new insights into the makeup of Sparta's society and army during the greater part of the fifth century. The basis for these can and must be a vindication of Thucydides' famous but often abused description of that army at the first battle at Mantinea.[1]

2. *An unusual mobilisation*

According to Thucydides, Sparta's position in the Peloponnese was seriously weakened in the aftermath of the so-called Peace of Nicias of 421 BC. Some of its allies had been alienated. When in 419 war again broke out between Sparta and its age-old rival Argos, Mantinea, in the heart of Arcadia and a long-time ally of Sparta, sided with the enemy, as did Elis, another former ally. Athens also came to the assistance of Argos, so that the great war between the Spartans and the Athenians was to all intents and purposes resumed. Sparta felt so threatened that in the summer of 418, with its entire army and all its remaining allies under the command of King Agis, it mounted a major

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[1] For the Spartan army at the battle of Mantinea in 418 BC see Anderson (1970) 228–37; Andrewes (1970) 93–119; Bauer (1893) 314–5; Beloch (1886) 139–40; *idem* (1906) 58–67; Busolt (1905) 387–419; Cartledge (1979) 253–7; *idem* (1987) 429–30; Cavaignac (1912) 267–8; Cawkwell (1983) 385–6; Chrimes (1949) 384; Cozzoli (1979) 74–80; Figueira (1986) 187–92; Forrest (1968) 131–7; Gomme (1937) 132–55; Jones (1967) 61–2; Kromayer (1903) 191–4; *idem* (1924) 207–20; *idem* (1928) 33–37; Lazenby (1985) 41–5; Toynbee (1913) 269–71; *idem* (1969) 365–404; Woodhouse (1933) 18–125.

offensive against Argos (Thuc. 5,57,1).[2] The expedition ended rather unex-pectedly in a truce between Agis and the commanders of the outmanoeuvred Argives (59–60). The Spartans and their allies were indignant at their king's behaviour, but had to accept the truce. Shortly after this, Athenian reinforcements arrived in Argos and persuaded the Argives and their Peloponnesian allies to renew the war. The coalition troops headed for Orchomenos in Arcadia, to which the contingent from Elis, which had been in favour of a combined attack on Lepreon, had withdrawn when it could not win over the others (61–62). Cut off by Mantinea from Spartan help from the south, Orchomenos surrendered. When news of this reached Sparta, King Agis narrowly escaped a fine and the demolition of his house by the outraged assembly and was placed under the supervision of ten of his compatriots who were to act as his 'advisers' in war (63). Meanwhile the enemy forces moved south in the direction of Tegea, Mantinea's neighbour and rival on the central Arcadian plateau. Sparta's fortunes seemed to be at a low ebb. When urgent requests for help reached the Spartans from Tegea they decided to respond: everything they had seemed to be at stake and they were convinced that only a decisive victory over the Argives could restore their former dominance in the Peloponnese.

Thucydides describes Sparta's mobilisation in the following terms (64, 2–3):

> Then a rescue army was raised consisting of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of the Helots in full mobilisation, quickly and in such a manner as had not happened before. They advanced as far as Orestheion in Mainalia and sent word to their allies in Arcadia to march to Tegea in order to combine their forces there. They themselves all arrived at Orestheion, but there they sent back the sixth part of their own troops, consisting of the oldest and the youngest soldiers, to protect their homes, and with the rest of the army they reached Tegea, where shortly after they were joined by their Arcadian allies.

Two pieces of information in this passage are crucial to our understanding of Sparta's military organisation on this occasion: firstly a sixth of the army is said to have been made up of the oldest

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[2] All further references in brackets are, if not otherwise stated, to Thucydides book V.

and the youngest troops and secondly 'the Lacedaemonians themselves' are said to have been fully mobilised.

To start with, why would 'the sixth part' of the army have consisted of the oldest and the youngest soldiers and how could such a fact have been known to an outsider? It has already been pointed out by some scholars that 'the sixth part' must have meant one-sixth of all the year classes involved.[3] In Sparta, as in Athens, a man was liable for active service up until the age of sixty (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 5,4,13; 6,4,17). His liability normally began at twenty in both Sparta and Athens and probably in other Greek states. Twenty was the *hèbè* or flowering of youth, the threshold of adulthood. In Sparta it was from that age on (literally *aph' hèbès)* that the year classes called up for military service were counted.[4] The very oldest year classes were not usually called up, and in practice the age of fifty-five may have been the limit under most circumstances.[5] In times of emergency, however, the oldest year classes too could be called up, as could men under twenty who were still in military training. In fifth-century Athens the 18- and 19-year-olds underwent some form of preparation for their adult life of full citizenship and military service: they were called *peripoloi* and could be used for light duties, as were the better-known *ephèboi* of late fourth-century Athens.[6] On at least one occasion during the fifth century Athens deemed it necessary to use its 18- and 19-year-olds and those aged between 50 and 59 in a campaign (Thuc. 1,105,4; cf. 4,67,2–5 for *peripoloi* in action). This explains why the total number of year classes in Athens was 42 (i.e. every age between 18 and 59 inclusive) whereas in practice call-ups normally started at the age of 20 and seldom went beyond the age of 50. Athenian

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[3] Cf. Andrewes (1970) 93: "the over-forties and, probably, those of 18–19"; Figueira (1986) 188: the year groups 55–59 and 18–19; likewise Lazenby (1985) 44 and 126; Toynbee (1969) 371: the year classes 20–22 and 56–59 (but that would be 7/40, not 7/42 !)

[4] 4. Cf. Billheimer (1946); Lazenby (1985) 12; Marrou (1946) 218; Tazelaar (1967) 141–2.

[5] As in the Leuctra campaign of 371 (Xen. *Hell.* 6,4,17) and in fact also at Mantinea in 418 after the oldest men had been sent home. In Athens men seem normally to have ceased to be called up at the age of 50, or in exceptional cases 55; see discussion in Gomme (1969) 34–9 *ad* Thuc. 2,13,6–7.

[6] See Pélékidis (1962) 5–79, on the fifth-century *peripoloi* in Athens as foreshadowing the institution of the *ephèbeia*, the state-provided military training for 18– and 19-year-olds described by Aristotle *Athèn. Pol.* 42,2–5.

mobilisations (especially so-called *strateiai en tois epônymois*; see Aristotle *Athèn. Pol.* 53) were carried out according to this system of 42 year classes, which were named after 42 heroes.

In Sparta things were not essentially different. Here too the 18- and 19-year-olds underwent military training but did not normally join the army in the field, instead continuing to participate in the collective training of Spartan youth. As an outward sign of this their hair was kept cut short: only at the age of twenty, on formally entering the army, could they adopt the long hairstyle for which Spartan warriors were famous.[7] Like their Athenian counterparts, Spartan 18- and 19-year-olds could be used to reinforce the army in times of emergency. Perhaps the Spartans were even quicker to commit their youngest troops to battle than the Athenians were. In any case, Thucydides did not comment on their presence in the army in 418 as though it had been something exceptional. Men of this age had been involved in the Spartan actions on and around Sphakteria in 425 (to which I shall come back in section 5 below). As has been said, on paper both the Spartan and the Athenian army contained 42 year classes, as was probably a matter of common knowledge. When on arriving at Orestheion King Agis decided that the situation no longer required the presence of the youngest and oldest troops, he sent them back to Sparta. Later, after news reached Sparta that a great battle was imminent and that its allies from the isthmus and central Greece had not yet joined the army, the home authorities again ordered these troops northward, this time under the command of King Pleistoanax. They arrived at Tegea just after the battle had been won and immediately returned home (75,1). That 'sixth part' of the Spartan army that comprised the youngest and oldest troops must have been made up of the year classes 18, 19 and 55–59, in all seven year classes out of a total of 42.

Next, who were 'all the Lacedaemonians themselves' who advanced as far as Orestheion, where the decision was made to send the 'sixth part' home? The army that crossed the border consisted of these 'Lacedaemonians' and 'the Helots'. The latter were almost certainly the Spartans' personal attendants and baggage-carriers, not

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[7] See David (1992) 13.

fighting troops.[8] The term *Lakedaimonioi* can refer either to both the Spartans and the Perioikoi, i.e. to all the free inhabitants of the 'State of the Lakedaimonioi', or to the Spartans alone, i.e. to full citizens of that state.[9] The meaning of the term is thus hardly precise. It appears that the Perioikoi generally provided troops for all major expeditions. In the case of a general mobilisation they probably sent as many men as did the Spartans themselves. This is said to have been the case during the Plataea campaign (Hdt. 9,10,1; 11,3; 28,2), although the numbers stated, 5000 Spartans and as many Perioikoi, need not be accepted at face value. One would expect Perioikic troops to have participated in the expedition to Arcadia in 418 as well, being covered by the term Lakedaimonioi. This, however, creates some difficulty. The sixth part of the army that was sent back from Orestheion can

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[8] Cartledge (1979) 253. Andrewes (1970) 79, suggests that it means the force of former Helots (Brasideioi and Neodamodeis—for these see further below). I find that rather doubtful, however, since as far as I know these troops are never called simply 'Helots'. The phrase *kai hoi Heilôtes hoi peri autous* (Thuc. 4,8,9), used of the Spartans on Sphakteria, in any case suggests personal attendants, not (liberated) Helot soldiers. According to Van Wees (1995) 176 n. 28, we should see in the Helots of 418 lightly armed Helot troops who had been mobilised *pandèmei* together with the Spartans themselves. This had happened before during the Plataea campaign, in which, as Herodotus repeatedly tells us, seven lightly armed Helots fought around each Spartan hoplite (Hdt. 9,10,1; 28,2; 29,1). To my mind, this is impossible. The sheer numbers (35,000 lightly armed Helots!) make this supposition totally unrealistic on tactical as well as logistical grounds. The fact that Herodotus so emphatically wants us to believe that this many Helots fought as lightly armed troops should not persuade us to accept his figures—nobody accepts his inflated figures for the Persian army either. The suggestion in Hunt (1997) 129 ff., that at Plataea only the front rank of the phalanx consisted of Spartans, with the Helots occupying the seven ranks behind them (ratio 1:7), has little to recommend it. There is no mention of any lightly armed troops at Mantinea in 418, Helot or otherwise. This does not prove that there were none there, but if there were any their military role must have been insignificant. There is no evidence, moreover, apart from Herodotus on Plataea, that the Spartans ever used Helots as lightly armed troops. Although I fail to see what purpose could have been served by a mobilisation of *all* the Helots, many times more numerous than the Spartans themselves, I agree that a full-scale mobilisation of the latter would naturally have entailed a mass call-up of their Helot servants, while the rest of the Helots stayed behind, scattered through their villages and their masters' land holdings in Laconia and Messenia. Even so the Spartans thought it necessary to send the youngest and oldest of their troops back home as soon as possible to guard Sparta itself, presumably against possible unrest amongst these same Helots. (For Herodotus on the numbers of Spartans, Perioikoi and Helots at Plataea see also Singor [1993] 49–51.)

[9] For the term *Lakedaimonioi* see, among others, Bölte (1929) 1280–3; Hampl (1937) 2–3; 17–19; 23; Toynbee (1969) 159.

only have been the sixth part of the Spartans *(to hekton meros sphôn autôn:* 64,3), in which case the words 'they themselves' must also refer to the Spartans. This raises questions as to the identity of 'the Lacedaemonians themselves' who were all mobilised at the outset.

During Agis' first campaign against Argos his army had also consisted, along with its allied contingents, of 'the Lacedaemonians (...) themselves and the Helots in full mobilisation' (57,1). Nowhere else in Thucydides does this phrase recur. In the case of this first expedition there can be little doubt that the term *Lakedaimonioi* refers to both Spartans and Perioikoi, since the army is described as the strongest and finest to have been assembled in Greece for a long time (60, 2–3) and there seems to have been no reason why the Perioikoi should not have raised their normal levy on this occasion.[10] This might suggest that the term 'the Lacedaemonians themselves' should be understood to refer to both Spartans and Perioikoi in the description of King Agis' second expedition as well. By the time of the second mobilisation, however, the situation had changed. After King Agis had recrossed the Lacedaemonian border on his way back from the walls of Argos his Perioikic troops must have trickled away in small contingents back to their respective home towns, while the Spartans would have marched *en bloc* to Sparta itself.[11] When the call for help came in from Tegea the Spartan authorities judged the situation to be so serious that they sent their troops out again 'quickly and in such a manner as had not happened before' (64, 2). The Spartan army reached Tegea even sooner than the allies from southern Arcadia (64,3), while those from further away, such as the Corinthians and the Boeotians, arrived at the scene only a few days later, by which time the battle had already been fought (75,2). Agis' second 'total mobilisation', therefore, may not have been 'total' at all. The Spartans and the Helots, billeted in or around Sparta itself, could be called to arms in a matter of hours, but the various Perioikic troops must have

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[10] According to Lazenby (1985) 14–5 and 125, there were *no* Perioikoi in the army of 418 BC because the Spartans would not have taken them along on campaigns against other Peloponnesian states. I can see no evidence that any such rule was followed in the classical period.

[11] See, for instance, Agesilaos' army in 370 BC: "When he had arrived in Laconia he brought the Spartans back home and released them there, while he sent the Perioikoi back to their towns." (Xen. *Hell.* 6,5,21.)

needed more time, especially those who, like the Perioikoi from the south of Laconia, had to cover relatively long distances. I would suggest that King Agis, eager to restore his damaged reputation (cf. 63; 65,2), probably did not wait for all the Perioikic troops to join his army before he crossed the border on his way to Orestheion. The words 'all the Lacedaemonians themselves and the Helots' should therefore not be regarded as having included *all* the free men liable for mobilisation in Laconia, Perioikoi as well as Spartans. Instead the phrase may have referred primarily to the fully mobilised Spartans, together with however many Perioikoi had managed hastily to rejoin the army.[12] I suspect, in fact, that Thucydides probably had only the Spartans in mind when he wrote these words. It is therefore my suggestion that all of the Spartan hoplites participated in this campaign together with only some of the Perioikoi, in other words those who had managed to get there in time. The reason for this must clearly have been that the Spartans were hurrying to respond to the emergency.

Further evidence tends to confirm this interpretation: for example, Sparta's willingness to commit to the expedition even those who would normally have been left behind, the oldest and youngest soldiers whom we have already discussed (64,3; 75,1). We are reminded of Thucydides' assertion that the army set out from Sparta 'quickly and in such a manner as had not happened before'.[13] A mobilisation in which every Spartan citizen aged from 18 to 59 was called to arms and marched north, whereas only some of the Perioikoi seem to have been present, was indeed a remarkable one. This interpretation is borne out, as I hope to show, by Thucydides' description of the army on the battlefield. A mobilisation that included the oldest and the youngest men was abnormal, but not unheard of; it

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[12] The fact that the Perioikoi were sometimes slow to mobilise and might leave Laconia a day or more after the Spartans themselves has been noticed by others; see e.g. Bauer (1893) 307; Busolt (1905) 394; Kromayer (1903) 190–1 (according to K. the Perioikoi did not participate in the Mantinea campaign of 418 at all); Lazenby (1985) 16 and 125 (see also above n. 10). Examples are Hdt. 9,10–11 (479); Thuc. 4,8,1 (425); Xen. *Hell.* 3,5,7 (395); 5,1,33 (387).

[13] Not so, according to Andrewes (1970) 91, commenting upon *oxeia kai hoia oupô proteron:* "the last words only explain *oxeia:* they do not mean that in some other respect too the expedition was unparalleled." I do not agree. Grammatically both interpretations could be accepted, but it seems to me an improbable way of describing the speed of Agis' mobilisation, if that is all that Thucydides wanted to say.

was the absence of the greater part of the Perioikoi that made this nominally full-scale mobilisation truly peculiar.[14]

In this connection we should briefly return to the group comprising the youngest and oldest troops. Were the Perioikoi too liable for military service from the age of 18 until they were 60, and if so, should those Perioikoi who were in the relevant age groups be reckoned among the soldiers who did not participate in the battle? There is of course no reason why the Laconian Perioikoi should not have had the same basic rules of mobilisation as the Spartans had. (This must have been the case in 371 BC; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6,4,17, in which it is stated that men aged up to sixty were called up into the *morai* that included Perioikoi.) We may assume that those Perioikoi who had succeeded in joining Agis' army were drawn, as were the Spartans themselves, from all the 42 year classes available for call-up. As we have seen, however, Thucydides refers to the 18- and 19-year-olds and the men aged 55 to 59 who were sent home from Orestheion as the sixth part *sphôn autôn,* i.e. of the Spartans themselves, rather than of the larger category containing both Spartans and Perioikoi. He appears specifically to be stating that it was only the Spartan troops in these age groups that were sent home, not any Perioikic ones. This could confirm the supposition that only some of the Perioikoi had joined the army, since in this case King Agis may well not have wanted to reduce their numbers any further by sending their oldest and youngest troops home.

A few days later the youngest and oldest Spartan troops were back, under the command of King Pleistoanax (75,1). This is an interesting episode. It is hard to imagine that the ephors back in Sparta would have acquiesced in the continued absence of many Perioikoi two or more days after the departure of the main army under King Agis and sent their own youngest and oldest troops back out to the front under their remaining king with no other troops to reinforce them. In my

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[14] One should also bear in mind that Sparta had other military obligations at this time: the coast had to be guarded against raids from Cythera and Pylos and 300 troops had been sent, under Agesippidas, to the aid of Epidauros (Thuc. 5,56,1). We are not told who these troops *(phrouroi)* were; certainly Spartan citizens must be ruled out, as must allied citizen troops, so they can only have been mercenaries, Neodamodeis or Perioikoi. These last would certainly have been called upon to keep an eye on Messenian and Athenian movements in the coastal areas. This would have reduced further the number of Perioikic troops available for the Mantinea campaign.

view, this second Lacedaemonian force cannot have consisted only of these youngest and oldest Spartans: many of the Perioikic troops who had not been in time to join the main army a few days earlier must by now have shown up. My reason for thinking this is that this second force set out under the command of King Pleistoanax. It would have been very peculiar to put a king in charge of a force consisting only of the remaining Spartan citizens, since this contingent must have been very small and was to rejoin an army that already had a king as its commander. We are not told who led this small force home from Orestheion to Sparta, but it cannot have been King Pleistoanax, or, presumably, any of the polemarchs. Expeditionary forces made up of both Spartan and Perioikic troops, on the other hand, seem always to have been led by a king, a regent or one of the polemarchs.

As a rule classical Sparta's army was never jointly commanded by both kings when outside its borders; normally one of the kings stayed at home while the other took the field (see Hdt. 5,75). The fact that these reinforcements marched under Pleistoanax is therefore difficult to explain in any case. If his force consisted of the remaining Perioikoi as well as the oldest and youngest Spartans, however, it may have been of considerable strength, which may explain why a royal commander was thought appropriate. The question of who would have taken supreme command had Pleistoanax ever joined forces with Agis cannot be answered, but I would guess that Pleistoanax was probably supposed to hand over his troops and go back to Sparta at once. As it happened he never reached Agis, but went home from Tegea after hearing the news of the victory. We must remember that Agis had sent his oldest and youngest troops home from Orestheion as soon as he heard that his Arcadian allies were heading for Tegea, the allies from further north not yet having arrived. A little later on Pleistoanax must surely have learned that the Arcadian allies had joined Agis' army, but left anyway with whatever troops were at his disposal because he thought that battle was imminent. If the assistance of the reserve Spartan troops alone could have been thought necessary in any major confrontation with the enemy before the arrival of the allies from Corinth and Boeotia, it is strange that Agis should have sent them back from Orestheion in the first place. If, however, the contingent under Pleistoanax consisted not only of these troops but also of a considerable number of Perioikoi who had not been in time to join Agis' hastily assembled expedition, everything becomes clear. If I am

right only some of the Perioikic troops called up at the outset of the conflict can have been present at the battle itself, since Pleistoanax' detachment did not arrive in time to join in.

Thucydides' description of these events never mentions the Perioikoi as such. His account of Agis' departure with the main army centres on the Spartans themselves, leaving his readers more or less in the dark as to the role of the Perioikoi in the mobilisation of 'all the Lacedaemonians' (64,2). He tells us that Pleistoanax arrived in Arcadia accompanied by the youngest and oldest Spartan soldiers, but passes over in silence any Perioikic troops that may also have been in this second force. Thucydides' attitude is not difficult to understand. When people referred to the state of the *Lakedaimonioi* they always had in mind the Spartans, the masters of that state, and the Athenian historian was no exception. Since he calls the second full-scale mobilisation of 418 BC unprecedented *(oxeia kai hoia oupô proteron:* 64,2) he must have known that there was something very unusual about it. We cannot know precisely what it was that suggested these words to him, but it is my belief, as I have argued above, that it had to do with Agis' rushed departure and the incomplete detachment of Perioikic troops that consequently accompanied him. The phrase might also have been inspired by the second expeditionary force that brought up the Spartan reserves and the rest of the Perioikoi under Pleistoanax. This great mobilisation was unprecedented also in that it occurred in two phases, so that at one point two Spartan kings were leading armies in the field at the same time.

3. *Deployment and overall numbers of the armies at Mantinea*

In Tegea King Agis joined up with his allies from southern Arcadia. Word had also been sent to the allies further north, but Agis did not wait for their arrival. Clearly eager for battle, he invaded the territory of Mantinea (64,3–4). Battle would have been joined immediately had not the king, who wanted to attack the enemy while they had the clear advantage of being drawn up on the slope of a hill, been held back by 'one of the elders' in his army (65,2). This may be a reference to one of his ten new 'advisers' (63,4). The whole army withdrew at the last minute. The next day the Spartans re-entered Mantinean territory to find that their enemies had descended onto the plain and were ready for them in battle formation (66,1). The Spartans had to fall out of

marching order and draw up battle lines in a hurry. Thucydides makes clear his admiration of their *sang-froid* on this occasion and explains that their efficiency in manoeuvres of this sort is a result of the chain of command leading from the king to the individual soldier (66,3–4):

> For when a king is in command everything is regulated by him. He personally gives his orders to the polemarchoi; they in turn instruct the lochagoi, who pass on the orders to the pentèkontères; they again give the word to the enômotarchoi, each of whom finally instructs the men in his enômotia. Likewise, if they want to pass an order, it goes by the same route and quickly reaches its destination. For nearly the whole army of the Lacedaimonians, except for a small part, consists of officers commanding officers, so that the responsibility for what is done falls to many men.

Thucydides' admiration leads him into a certain amount of obvious exaggeration, since the officers cannot possibly have outnumbered the common soldiers. By comparison with the amateurish militias of other Greek states, however, the Spartan army clearly had a sophisticated command structure. The *polemarchoi* who figure in this description as the highest-ranking officers beneath the commander-in-chief are probably identical with the *en telei xystrateuomenoi* mentioned in the description of Agis' first campaign of that year (60,1). They do not seem to have been in regular command of troops, as were the other officers mentioned in this passage. Instead, the Spartan polemarchs served as the army's general staff; it fell to them to command divisions of Perioikoi or mixed formations of Spartans and Perioikoi whenever the need arose. As we shall see, the Perioikic troops that participated in the battle of Mantinea were led by at least two polemarchs. The remaining polemarchs (there were six polemarchs during the fourth century, but we do not know how many there were in 418 BC) may have commanded the contingents consisting respectively of former Helots and of Skiritai (see below) or may have remained in the vicinity of the king. It was they who had to see to it, presumably before the army drew up into battle formation, that the king's orders reached the regimental commanders, the *lochagoi*. The Spartan army was divided into a number of *lochoi* of equal size and identical organisation. Thucydides later explains that each *lochos* was further divided into four *pentèkostyes* and each *pentèkostys* into four *enômotiai* (68,3). Unlike the polemarchs, the other officers were all the regular commanders of their own units. All these officers

undoubtedly took up their position in the front rank on the battlefield, as was normal for the commanders and officers of all Greek armies. The Spartan kings, however, probably did not fight in the front rank, but were protected by one or two rows of the elite corps of Hippeis, or perhaps by some specially selected Spartans.[15] Since, according to Thucydides, the first rank of each of the sixteen *enômotiai* consisted of four men (68,3), each *lochos* had 64 men in its front line. Of these one was the *lochagos,* four were *pentèkontères* and sixteen were *enômotarchoi.* This makes 21 officers, or one out of three men. We do not know whether they were marked out as such by, for instance, especially decorative or high-crested helmets such as officers elsewhere seem to have worn; perhaps the famous Spartan austerity and egalitarianism argue against this.[16]

Thucydides goes on to describe the battle order in which Agis' army was so quickly and efficiently drawn up (67,1):

> On the left wing the Skiritai took up their position, who alone of the Lakedaimonioi always hold that place in the line. Next came the Brasideioi who had returned from Thrace and with them Neodamodeis. Then the Lacedaemonians themselves positioned their lochoi on a line. They were flanked by the Arcadians from Heraia and those from Mainalia. On the right wing came the men from Tegea, while a few of the Lacedaemonansi held the very end. Their cavalry was stationed on both wings.

This is a most important passage, albeit full of problems with regard to the 'Lacedaemonians themselves'. The Skiritai inhabited the northernmost region of Laconia, which bordered on Arcadia. We learn a little later that they were 600 strong (68,3). Thucydides seems to be suggesting that they always numbered 600 and that they always fought on the left wing. Clearly the Skiritai enjoyed some particular

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[15] Xenophon does not say that the Hippeis were at Leuctra in 371 BC, referring to the men around the king only as *to peri ton basilea* and *hoi peri ton Kleombroton (Hell.* 6,4,12–13). Elsewhere a Spartan king on the battlefield is said to have had some sort of bodyguard consisting of 'the noblest' of the Spartans (*andrôn te agathôn kai schedon epiphanestatôn*) fighting in front of him *(machomenoi pro autou): Hell.* 7,4,23–24; cf. Isocr. *Ep.* 2,6: *endoxotatoi tôn politôn.* According to Plut. *Lyc.* 22,4 a victor in one of the great games had the honour of fighting in front of the king. Possibly all these special places of honour date from a period when the Hippeis as an army corps had disappeared, perhaps at some time in the early fourth century.

[16] For this official equality, at least in such matters as food and clothes, see Hodkinson (1983) 243.

status. As Arcadians who formed part of the state of the *Lakedaimonioi* they must formally have been regarded as Perioikoi (in 370 BC they became independent of Sparta: Xen. *Hell.* 7,4,21). It is unsurprising that they should have been present at Mantinea given how close their home was to the army's route from Sparta to Tegea. They were organised as an ethnic group, unlike the Perioikoi proper, who, like the Spartans themselves, were assembled into *lochoi* without regard to their communities of origin. The Skiritai seem to have acted as a vanguard when the army was on the march. Perhaps they fought more in the manner of lightly armed troops than of hoplites, although Thucydides does not say so. It is possible that their appearance differed from that of the other Lacedaemonian hoplites (conceivably they did not have the *lambda* of *Lakedaimôn* on their shields) and that this is one more reason why Thucydides sets them so clearly apart from the Lacedaemonian *lochoi* next to them (68,3).[17]

The *Brasideioi* were the remnants of Brasidas' corps of 700 Helots, sent to Thrace as hoplites in 424 BC (Thuc. 4,80,5). On their return they were freed and settled, with other liberated Helots or *Neodamodeis*, in an area of Lepreon close to its border with Elis (Thuc. 5,34,1). The 'Men of Brasidas' always stood out amongst the other Neodamodeis as a special corps. Lepreon's entire garrison of former Helot troops numbered some 1000 men (Thuc. 5,49,1).[18] Since Agis' army at Mantinea consisted of *lochoi* containing roughly 500 men apiece (as Thucydides discloses further on: 68,3), it is natural to conclude that the Brasideioi and Neodamodeis together made up two of its *lochoi*. These troops had also participated in Agis' first expedition of 418 BC, which had ended in a truce (57,1). After the return of the army to Sparta there had been much discontent and we may assume that it was thought that war would break out again soon. Unlike the Perioikoi, who were not professional soldiers and therefore returned to their homes, these former Helots became a standing force

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[17] For the Skiritai cf. Anderson (1970) 249–251; Andrewes (1970) 103–104.

[18] This follows from the sum of two thousand *mnai,* two *mnai* for every hoplite, that was imposed on Sparta as a fine for breaking the Olympic truce by bringing these hoplites to Lepreon (Thuc. 5,49,1); this had already been established by Kromayer (1903) 190 ff.; *idem* (1926) 213; *idem* (1928) 34 n. 3—*pace* Cozzoli (1979) 80 n. 1, who implausibly dates the garrison of a thousand hoplites in Lepreon to 424 BC. In this case it could not have consisted of the men of Brasidas, who returned to Sparta only in 421 BC.

that was presumably not sent back to Lepreon immediately after Agis had concluded his truce. This would explain their presence in his army on this occasion, after war had broken out anew.

Next to the former Helots came the *lochoi* containing 'the Lacedaemonians themselves'. The number and identity of the latter are the crux of the whole question of how Sparta's army was organised in the classical age. I shall return to them in more detail below (section 4). Next to these *lochoi,* though Thucydides does not mention them until later (72,4), was the elite corps made up of three hundred Spartan knights or Hippeis who fought close to the king. This should be counted as a separate corps to the right of the *lochoi,* since the king would have taken his position on the right flank of his troops.[19] Still further to the right were stationed two contingents of Arcadian allies, one from Heraion and the other from Mainalia. We are not told how large these contingents were, nor anything about how they were organised (nor indeed are we told how any other detachment was organised, with the exception of the opposing Argive force). These two allies, whose combined territory made up most of western Arcadia, are likely on this occasion to have sent their normal levy of two thirds of their hoplites. It therefore seems plausible to suppose that each contingent contained about 1000 men, or perhaps a few more than that. The Tegeates, on the other hand, must have been more numerous, having mobilised *pandèmei* because the battle was so

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[19] It has been suggested, e.g. by Lazenby (1985) 130, 133, that King Agis and the 300 Hippeis were stationed "in the middle" of the Lacedaemonian army, in other words at the centre of six *morai.* The Lacedaemonian army at Mantinea was not, however, divided into *morai* but into five *lochoi,* as I hope to make clear. Thucydides' phrase "the rest of the army and foremost its centre where King Agis was with the 300 so-called Hippeis..." (72,4) clearly means the whole of the army *(stratopedon)* under Agis' command, not just his Lacedaemonian troops. In that army's battle line Agis and his elite corps were indeed 'in the middle', with more than 4000 troops to their left and 5000 to their right (see below). This would have been the natural position for a Spartan king to take. When on the march Agis would have travelled with his 300 Hippeis at the head of the column of five Spartan *lochoi,* possibly preceded only by the Skiritai and perhaps by the *lochoi* of Brasideioi and Neodamodeis. When the orders to take up battle formation were given the Skiritai moved as far to the left as was feasible, followed by the regiments of former Helots, while Agis and his Hippeis halted; from their rear came the Spartan regiments, one after another, to take their places to the left of the king and his 'knights'; at the same time the contingents of Arcadian allies, including the Tegeates and 'a few of the Lacedaemonians', came up beside Agis and his Hippeis to position themselves to the right of the king.

close to their own territory (cf. Thuc. 5,57,2; 67,2 on the troops from *Phleious panstratiai)*. In 479 1500 Tegeate hoplites had fought at Plataea (Hdt. 9,28). The Tegeates in Agis' army at Mantinea would have numbered 2000 at least, or perhaps 2500. They were flanked to the right by *Lakedaimoniôn oligoi*, or 'a few of the Lacedaemonians', cryptic words that have given rise to much speculation and controversy. We shall deal with these in section 4, in connection with the *lochoi* made up of 'the Lacedaemonians themselves'.[20]

While King Agis was rapidly deploying his troops the army of the enemy alliance stood waiting. The right wing of that army, opposite the Skiritai and the former Helots, consisted of the Mantineans who were defending their own territory. Since Mantinea must have called up every man it had, these must have numbered between 2000 and 2500 hoplites (roughly the same number as their rivals from Tegea had mustered). They were joined towards the centre by their Arcadian allies, probably from northern Mainalia and presumably not many more than 500 strong, since the rest of the Mainalioi had remained loyal to Sparta.[21] Next came an elite corps of 1000 Argives, followed by the other Argive hoplites. The latter are described later (72,4) as having been older and organised into five *lochoi (tois presbyterois kai pentelochois ônomasmenois)*. The 1000 *logades*, then, must have been those younger troops who, as Thucydides informs us, were trained as a standing force at public expense (67,2). The size of the main Argive army is not stated, but we cannot go far wrong if we assume that each of these Argive *lochoi*, when fully mobilised, was of roughly the same size as the corps of *logades*. This would mean that on paper the regular Argive army numbered 5000 men. Since this campaign was taking place at some distance from their home, it is improbable that the Argives were at full strength; 600 or 700 men per *lochos* (two thirds of their potential strength) seems to me to be a reasonable guess. All in all some 4000 to 4500 Argive troops would then have

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20 Diodorus (probably following Ephorus) assesses the strength of all Sparta's allies put together at 3000 hoplites (Diod. 12,18,4), but that figure is certainly too low; the Tegeates alone would have provided 2000 to 2500 men, roughly as many as the Mantineans, whose strength is probably overestimated by Diodorus (12,78,4) at 3000 hoplites.

21 For these Arcadian allies of Mantinea, who cannot have been very numerous, see Andrewes (1970) 104. The estimates of the populations of the various parts of Arcadia in Beloch (1886) 123–129, are still valuable.

fought at Mantinea, a number that is not implausible considering Argos' reputation as one of the most populous states in Greece.[22] Further to the left came Argos' allies from Kleonai and Orneai. Again, their numbers are not given, but there cannot have been many of them; perhaps they totalled between 500 and 1000 altogether. The left wing, finally, consisted of the Athenian expeditionary force of 1000 hoplites and 300 cavalry that had arrived in Argos under the *stratègoi* Laches and Nikostratos only a short time before (61,1). The Athenian cavalry was stationed next to the hoplites on the extreme left wing opposite the 'few of the Lakedaimonioi' already mentioned. No other cavalry is said to have formed part of the allied army. During the battle the Athenian cavalry was useful in covering the Athenians' retreat before the Lacedaemonians and Tegeates, on the right wing, who were threatening to encircle them (73,1). Typically, we hear nothing of any action by the Peloponnesian cavalry stationed on both wings of Agis' army. Lightly armed troops are not mentioned at all.[23]

The army that faced Agis at Mantinea, then, numbered between 8500 and 10000 hoplites. Thucydides goes on to inform us that the Spartan army seemed bigger (68,1; later he says that it actually was the bigger one: 71,2). This should mean that Agis' forces at least equalled those of the enemy and probably slightly surpassed them in numbers. We must now turn to his Lacedaemonian troops.

4. *'The Lacedaemonians themselves ... and a few of the Lacedaemonians'*

As we have seen, the Lacedaemonian *lochoi* were stationed next to those of the Brasideioi and the Neodamodeis. Thucydides tells us

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[22] For Argos' reputation cf. Isocr. *Panegyr.* 64; Lysias 34,7; also Beloch (1886) 116–117. For the battle of Nemea in 494 BC Argos had mobilised about 7000 hoplites (*Hell.* 4,2,17); these almost certainly included contingents from Kleonai and Orneai (as at Mantinea in 418 BC: Thuc. 5,67,2; 74,3), which cannot have been anything other than very small (Xenophon does not mention them), since the call-up of the Argives themselves must have taken practically their entire hoplite force (for purposes of comparison, the Athenians had sent 6000 hoplites).

[23] In Thucydides' view the battle was fought and won by hoplites. He was undoubtedly selective and biased in his description (e. g. as regards the Perioikoi, as we have seen above), but I am not convinced by Van Wees' argument that lightly armed troops played an important role at Mantinea as in other classical battles: Van Wees (1995) 162–165; see also above n. 8.

(68,3) that the Lacedaemonian army consisted of 'seven lochoi, apart from the 600 Skiritai'. He goes on to explain the command structure of the *lochos* and to calculate the number of soldiers in each of these units *(ibid.)*. From what he says it would appear that each of the *lochoi* in Agis' army at Mantinea consisted of some 500 men (see further below). The 'seven lochoi', together with the 'few Lacedaemonians' at the far end of the right wing, have inspired modern scholars to various reconstructions. Several related questions have caused problems here. If there were indeed seven of these *lochoi* and these included the former Helot troops, how many of the *lochoi* were Spartan and/or Perioikic? Did Spartans and Perioikoi fight side by side in the same regiments as they did in the army of *morai* of which Xenophon wrote, or were they still in separate regiments as they were at Plataea in 479 BC? If the *lochoi* of 418 were all-Spartan there cannot have been many Perioikoi at Mantinea, but if they contained both Spartans and Perioikoi the total numbers involved (fewer than seven *lochoi* of about 500 men each) seem absurdly low. If, however, we assume that Thucydides somehow made the mistake of terming *lochoi* what were in fact mixed Spartan–Perioikic *morai* like those of the fourth century (each of which comprised two *lochoi)* we can duplicate his numbers, with the result that at least some problems may disappear, or so the reasoning goes. Since Xenophon's *Hellènika* and the *Lakedaimoniôn Politeia* attributed to him are relatively informative about the *mora*, many scholars have been tempted to superimpose the *mora* organisation upon Thucydides' description of the army during the Mantinea campaign. We are asked to believe that Thucydides called *morai lochoi* because he wanted to avoid using so technical a term as *mora*, or that he simply forgot or did not know that every *lochos* of Spartans was combined with one of Perioikoi to form a *mora*.[24] The latter inevitably implies that he was not merely vague

[24] In the *Hellènika* a *mora* seems to be made up of two *lochoi* (at least, the army consisted of six *morai*—*Hell.* 6,1,11; 4,17—while later it is also implied that it was made up of 12 *lochoi*: *Hell.* 7,4,20; 5,10). The *Lakedaimoniôn Politeia*, however, says that four *lochoi* make one *mora* (11,4; cf. 13,4). This inconsistency is often resolved by assuming a simple corruption of the text of the *Lak. Pol.* in which *duo* ('two') was read by some copyist as *d'* ('four')—see, among others, Lazenby (1985) 7. I do not wish to enter into this controversy here because I believe that the *mora* system was introduced after 418 BC. The way in which the Spartan army was organised at Mantinea in that year can be explained very well without any help from Xenophon's

but actively mistaken about the 'real' organisation of the Lacedaemonian army. Some have interpreted his 'seven lochoi' as including one made up of former Helots and six made up of Lacedaemonians, the latter six being 'in reality' the six *morai* described by Xenophon. In the 'few Lacedaemonians' on the right wing scholars have variously seen two *morai* at the end of a line of seven 'lochoi'—in which case Thucydides is again guilty of misrepresentation—or two relatively insignificant groups at the far end of the right wing, detached from the main corps at the centre of the army.[25]

To my mind all such interpretations are seriously flawed for two reasons. First, it is inadmissible to assume that Thucydides is mistaken when he goes out of his way to explain the organisation and the numbers of the Spartan army of his own time. We should accept his description, unless it can be *proven* wrong. Second, it is methodically unsound to read the later evidence obtained from Xenophon back into the work of Thucydides. Thucydides never even mentions *morai*; these are first mentioned by Xenophon in relation to the year 403 BC (*Hell.* 2,4,31). Herodotus was aware of the *lochos* as the basic unit of the Spartan army (Hdt. 9,53,2) and suggested that the Spartans and the Perioikoi fought separately (9,28,2;29,1–2). It is my conviction that we can explain Thucydides' passages on the Spartan

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morai. Many modern historians have, however, interpreted Thucydides' account of the army in 418 BC in terms of the *mora* system. Thucydides' seven *lochoi* should thus be understood as one regiment of former Helots and six *morai* according to Anderson (1970) 235; Andrewes (1970) 117 (with some caution); Bauer (1893) 314; Beloch (1886) 140; *idem* (1906) 63; Cartledge (1979) 254–257; *idem* (1987) 429–430; Cavaignac (1912) 268; Chrimes (1949) 384; Figueira (1986) 179, 187–188; Forrest (1968) 131–137; Jones (1967) 62; Lazenby (1985) 641–42, 128; De Ste. Croix (1972) 331; Woodhouse (1933) 139–140; Toynbee (1912) 269–271; *idem* (1969) 398.

[25] See the literature listed in note 24. Not all of the scholars mentioned argue that exactly one Spartan and one Perioikic *lochos* were combined to constitute one *mora.* This idea was pushed particularly hard by Toynbee, *op. cit.* The two *lochoi* at the far end of the right wing have often been interpreted as the two *lochoi*, or, in correction of Thucydides, the two *morai*, at the end of the line of seven regiments, and therefore as having been roughly in the centre of Agis' battle line and not on its right wing; see e.g. Andrewes (1970) 119; Cozzoli (1979) 74–75; Lazenby (1985) 43, 130; Woodhouse (1933) 94–99. Others see in these two *lochoi* led by polemarchs units smaller than the seven *lochoi* and place them on the extreme right wing; e.g. Anderson (1970) 232; Chrimes (1949) 384; according to Toynbee (1969) 398 and Figueira (1986) 188–191, two complete *morai* were stationed at the far right-hand end of the battle line.

army of 418 BC quite well, with the help of some other evidence from Thucydides himself and some from Herodotus, without dragging in the way in which the army was organised during a later period.

After describing the battle formations of both armies, Thucydides proceeds in a famous passage to calculate the numbers in the Spartan army (68,3):

> For there were seven lochoi fighting in the battle, apart from the 600 Skiritai, and in each lochos there were four pentèkostyes, and in the pentèkostys there were four enômotiai. The enômotia had four men fighting in the front rank. They were not stationed all at the same depth but as each lochagos saw fit; on the whole, however, they were drawn up in files of eight. Except for the Skiritai, then, the first rank of the whole (Lacedaemonian) army numbered 448 men.

Drawn up eight men deep, an *enômotia* of four files would have numbered 32 men, a *pentèkostys* 128 and a *lochos* 512 men at most; let us say roughly 500 men. Thucydides stresses the uniformity of these seven *lochoi* 'apart from the 600 Skiritai'. An eyewitness on the battlefield would have been struck by this immediately, since all along the advancing line the ominous *lambdai* of *Lakedaimôn* must have shone forth from the shields as soon as these were raised. The purple dress that was uniformly worn may also have set these troops apart from the others. Xenophon described the front rank of Agesilaos' troops as they advanced across the battlefield at Coronea (394 BC) as one solid mass of bronze and purple *(Ages.* 2,7). Together the seven Lacedaemonian regiments (among them the troops of the Brasideioi and Neodamodeis) numbered some 3500 soldiers. As I have said, it is the relatively small number of 'real' (i.e. Spartan or Perioikic) Lacedaemonian troops implied by this, given the fact that the Lacedaemonians had mobilised *pandèmei,* that has inspired scholars to suggest that Thucydides must have been mistaken. Their assumption is, however, unwarranted.

When he speaks of the seven *lochoi* drawn up next to the regiment of Skiritai, Thucydides has the former Helots and the Spartans themselves in mind. The Brasideioi and Neodamodeis together numbered some 1000 men, as he indicated earlier on (5,49,1). This can only mean that there were *two lochoi* of them, one consisting of Brasidas' veterans and the other of newly liberated Neodamodeis. The latter division, a recent extension to the army, would probably have aimed at the 'standard' *lochos* size of about 500 men. In his

description of the battle Thucydides distinguishes between the Brasideioi and the Neodamodeis as between two separate bodies of troops (71,3; 72,3). This leaves us with *five lochoi* to contain *the Lacedaemonians themselves.* In all they must therefore have numbered some 2500. To that number should be added the 300 Hippeis mentioned later in the description of the fighting (72,4). These are clearly not included amongst the 448 men who were in the front rank of all the seven *lochoi* combined, since in that calculation Thucydides was totting up the numbers in the Spartan army on the basis of the standard organisation of the *lochos*, the army's basic unit. That Sparta also had an elite corps of 300 'knights' was probably a matter of fairly common knowledge; in any case Herodotus already knew about them (Hdt. 1,67; 8,124). A total of 2800 men does seem impossibly small if it is supposed to have been the result of a full mobilisation of both Spartan and Perioikic troops, but it is not at all implausible if it relates only to the number of Spartans eligible for call-up. We should assume that in his description of the way in which the *lochos* was organised and in his calculation of the number of soldiers involved Thucydides was trying to assess the purely Spartan part of the army without taking into account any Perioikoi who might have mingled with it, just as he did not bother to mention them in describing the army's mobilisation. His famous phrase about the Spartan state's secretiveness in such matters (68,2) seems at least on the face of it to confirm this. In my view we have to view the five *lochoi* flanking the two regiments of former Helots as having indeed consisted of purely Spartan troops.

Not all of the Perioikoi who were liable for hoplite service were present on this occasion, as has already been suggested (section 1). Those who were did not form part of the line of seven *lochoi*, but were elsewhere on the battlefield, for we should identify the 'few of the Lacedaemonians' at the far end of the right wing with those Perioikoi who had managed to join Agis' forces on his hasty march northward. Various arguments support this identification. When the armies were advancing on each other the natural movement to the right to which, according to Thucydides (71,1), hoplite armies always tended at such moments caused the right wing of Agis' army to extend far out beyond the enemy's left flank, while his left wing was in danger of being outflanked by the opposition's right. To counter this, the Spartan king ordered the Skiritai and the Brasideioi to move to the

left. At the same time he commanded two *lochoi* on the right wing, under the polemarchs Hipponoidas and Aristokles, to move in and fill the gap that had opened up between the Brasideioi and the other *lochos* of Neodamodeis after the former had moved, together with the Skiritai, so far to the left that they were left confronting the Mantinean troops on the opposition's right wing (71,2–3). The polemarchs considered the king's order tactical madness and flatly refused to obey (for which they were later punished with exile; 72,1), so that Agis' army entered the battle with a dangerously wide gap in its left wing. The question for us is, of course, which two *lochoi* were these? The answer should be that they were the ones containing those Perioikoi who had managed to join up with Agis. These *lochoi* (each, as has been said, under a Spartan polemarch) would have been of more or less the same size as the regular Spartan and former Helot *lochoi* whose organisation Thucydides describes in detail—'more or less' because it is not strictly necessary, or indeed credible, to assume that exactly the right number of Perioikoi had arrived to make up two *lochoi* of 500 men apiece on the battlefield. Let us assume, however, that there were about 1000 of them.[26]

That they are called 'a few' *(oligoi)* should not deter us given the way in which the same term is used elsewhere, likewise in a Lacedaemonian military context. In his description of the Greek position at Thermopylae in 480 BC Diodorus informs us that Leonidas stayed on to await the enemy 'with the citizens' (i.e. 300 Spartans) and, 'there being few Lacedaemonians' (*oligôn d'ontôn tôn Lakedaimoniôn),* with the Thespians as well (Diod. 11,9,2). Now according to the same text (11,4,5) there were in fact 1000 of these 'few

[26] In fact, we know next to nothing about the way in which the Perioikic troops were grouped into various units. I presume that their *enômotiai, pentèkostyes* and *lochoi* were organised either in Sparta when the Perioikoi arrived there from their various townships or en route from Sparta to the border. Perhaps complete *pentèkostyes* were mobilised in some of the bigger Perioikic towns, such as Geronthrai, but that too is a guess. While the purely Spartan *enômotiai* were 'organic' institutions made up of three *syssitia* apiece (on this see further below), those of the Perioikoi must have been more or less 'artificial', that is made up ad hoc out of the men who had responded to the call to arms (just like the *enômotiai* in the mercenary army of the Ten Thousand).

Lacedaemonians', who should be interpreted as Perioikoi.[27] Clearly *oligoi* could mean something other than just 'a handful'. The term could, in fact, be used relatively: when a number fell distinctly short of what could have been expected, that number, regardless of its absolute size, could be described using the term *oligoi,* 'a few'. Thus Thucydides called the 1000 or so Perioikoi at Mantinea 'a few' because a full complement of Perioikoi would have numbered at least 2800, equalling the Spartans' numbers. Under normal circumstances all the available Perioikoi would have been at Mantinea, but as a result of Agis' hurried departure only about 1000 of them were actually there. They are therefore called 'a few'.

There are other reasons why we should identify the two *lochoi* under the polemarchs Aristokles and Hipponoidas with the *Lakedaimoniôn oligoi* at the far end of the right wing. It would have made no sense for Agis to try to fill up the gap in the left wing of his army by ordering two of his Spartan *lochoi* (the two furthest to the right in the line of seven *lochoi* mentioned in 68,3) to leave their place in the line and move to the left, since that in turn would have left a gap in the middle of the army. Troops from far out on the right wing were the only possible choice, as Thucydides himself makes clear when he says that Agis thought that even after this manoeuvre had been carried out his right wing would still project beyond the enemy lines (71,3). Since the 'few Lacedaemonians' were on the extreme right of his forces, the two *lochoi* under the polemarchs can only have consisted of these troops.

Finally, the fact that these *lochoi* were commanded by Spartan polemarchs points to Perioikic troops. In speaking of the command structure of the Spartan army Thucydides, as we have seen, mentions the polemarchs immediately after the king (66,3). His description of the army's battle formation (68,3), however, passes over the polemarchs in silence, while the *lochagoi* are said to have decided the essential question of how deep the files should be. A *lochagos,* we can infer, supervised his 64 files and had the authority to move men from one file to another so as to ensure an overall depth of, in this case,

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[27] I follow the interpretation of Hammond (1996) 8. It does not matter whether or not Diodorus was correct in his description here; the point is that '1000' Lacedaemonians could be referred to as *oligoi.*

'generally eight men'. In other words, for all practical purposes the *lochoi* operated under the command of their *lochagoi* and the polemarchs did not get involved. These high-ranking officers constituted the king's entourage, conveying his orders to the lower-ranking officers (before, we have to assume, the army drew up into battle formation) and fighting, when battle was eventually joined, either around the king or (as would normally have been the case) at the head of the regiments of Perioikic troops. We cannot be sure of how these Perioikic *lochoi* were organised. There can, however, be little doubt that the hierarchy within these units—*enômotiai, pentèkostyes, lochoi*—was similar to that of the Spartan ones. About their officers we know almost nothing. The Perioikoi, however, were not professional soldiers as the Spartans were and theirs was not a standing army. In fact, the Perioikic units, which consisted of men from various communities, were almost certainly put together ad hoc (cf. above, n. 26). I suspect, therefore, that the officers of the Perioikic *enômotiai* and *pentèkostyes* were also appointed only for the duration of a campaign. Whether they would have been Spartans or Perioikoi we cannot tell, but I think it probable that these lower officers who had to accept orders from the commanders of the Perioikic *lochoi* were Perioikoi themselves rather than members of the Spartan upper class. The commanders of these *lochoi,* however, were undoubtedly Spartan, since *lochoi* were the army's basic divisions and could well operate independently. Likewise, in the fourth century the larger units of mercenaries in Sparta's service would be led by Spartan *xenagoi.* The commanders of the Perioikic *lochoi,* however, were no *lochagoi.* These posts fell naturally to the polemarchs, who led these troops of Lacedaemonian citizens as, in a sense, the representatives of the Lacedaemonian kings. At Mantinea in 418 BC, then, King Agis divided his Perioikoi into two *lochoi* that he placed under the command of two of his polemarchs. We have now completed our reconstruction of the Spartan army's battle formation on this occasion and can summarise the results as follows.

From left to right, the army consisted of: the Skiritai, 600 strong; two *lochoi* of former Helots, one of Brasideioi and one of Neodamodeis, each containing about 500 men; five *lochoi* of Spartans, at full strength and thus containing some 2500 men altogether; the Spartan elite corps of 300 Hippeis; the Arcadian allies from Heraia and Mainalia, probably some 2000 men in all; the army

of Tegea at its full strength of about 2500 men; finally, two Perioikic *lochoi* of about 500 men each. The total strength of the army was about 9500 to 9900 hoplites. They were facing an enemy coalition of between 8500 and 10000 men, probably about 9000, since the Spartan army is said to have seemed or really been the bigger one.

5. *The five lochoi of classical Sparta*

From our reconstruction two main features stand out. First, the Spartans and the Perioikoi fought in separate units and indeed at Mantinea even some distance away from each other; second, the Spartans themselves were organised into five *lochoi.* Both of these observations are at odds with Xenophon's later account of an army based on *morai*, but are corroborated by other evidence concerning the Spartan army of the fifth century BC, starting with Herodotus' remarks about the army of 479 BC. Spartans and Perioikoi may have fought shoulder to shoulder in the same regiments in Xenophon's day, but they clearly did not do so in 479 BC, since Herodotus tells us that at the battle of Plataea they fought in separate divisions (9,10,1; 28,2; 29,1–2).[28] At this time these divisions were also called *lochoi,* as we learn from the same source (9,53,2). Herodotus says that the Spartans were fully mobilised for the campaign of 479 BC and that they numbered 5000 men, the same number as their Perioikoi mustered (9,10,1; 28,2). It would be unwise, I think, to take this figure of 5000 Spartans at face value. Herodotus had visited Sparta himself and while he was there must surely have asked how many Spartans had participated in the great battle against the Persians. Since Spartans did not like this sort of question, the answer was, I imagine, simply 'All'. From this Herodotus concluded that the Spartan *lochoi* must have been mobilised to the last man and that each *lochos* was therefore a thousand strong, since that number was an ideal summum. The real value of Herodotus' 5000 to us lies in its implication that the Spartan

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[28] Cawkwell (1983) 387, has suggested that at Plataea the Perioikoi might have been to the rear of the ranks, behind the Spartans but in the same regiments. This is pure conjecture based on the fact that no losses amongst the Perioikoi are mentioned. To my mind the very fact that the Spartans and the Perioikoi departed separately from Laconia implies the existence of separate *lochoi.* Hunt (above n. 8) suggests equally implausibly that the Helots made up the Spartans' rear ranks.

army was made up of five *lochoi* in 479, a structure that was still in place in 418.

Evidence from yet another source confirms that there were indeed five. Hesychios (s.v. *lochos)* tells us, "Aristophanes says that the Spartan army consisted of four *lochoi*, but there were actually five of them, as Aristotle says." The *scholion* in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 452–4 explains, "There are not four *lochoi* in the Spartan army but five and they are called Edolos, Sinis, Arimas, Ploas and Messoages. Thucydides, however, says that there are seven *lochoi,* except for the Skiritai." The scholiast of Thucydides 4,8,9 gives roughly the same names, declaring that the five Spartan *lochoi* in Sparta were called Aidolios, Sinis, Sarinas, Ploas and Mesoates. Aristophanes' scholiast clearly knew his Thucydides, but had read him inattentively, since he included the former Helot regiments among the total of Spartan *lochoi.* Hesychios' remark about the 'four *lochoi'* supposedly mentioned by Aristophanes is equally inaccurate, but at least he knew from Aristotle that their real number was five. Aristotle (fr. 541 Rose) was probably the two scholiasts' source as well. His statement that the Spartan army consisted of five *lochoi* was probably made in his lost *Lakedaimoniôn Politeia* and must have referred to the fifth century, since during the fourth century the Spartan army was organised in *morai.* He also knew that the five *lochoi*, as regiments of what was more or less a standing army, had their own proper names.[29] Since we cannot know for sure which period he was referring to, however, it could in theory be assumed that it was the time of Plataea. In that case his evidence would not necessarily corroborate our reconstruction of the army in 418 BC. I do not find this suggestion plausible, since Thucydides reveals that not long before the battle of Mantinea the Lacedaemonian army was organised into five permanent *lochoi* of Spartans and an equal number of Perioikoi. He does so in his

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[29] Kennell (1995) 167, suggests a comparison with the nicknames of Roman imperial legions, such as *rapax* (Sinis?) and *victrix* (Sarinas?), while Ploas "had a connection with the marines", Messoages may have referred "to the central unit of a Spartan battle formation" and Aidolios is "more reticent" as a name. In my opinion all these explanations are rather doubtful. In any case, whatever the meanings of the other names, the name Messoages or Mesoates can still more easily be explained as connected to Mesoa, one of Sparta's 'villages' (see further below).

description of the fighting on and around Sphakteria in 425 BC, which deserves a closer look.

When the Spartans decided to occupy the island of Sphakteria "they landed hoplites on the island who had been chosen by lot from all the lochoi. Various parties were sent to it replacing one another, and the last one to go there, which was caught in the end, consisted of 420 men with their Helots, led by Epitadas the son of Molobros" (4,8,9). These 420 hoplites included Spartans as well as Perioikoi, since the army that had been mobilised for this campaign around Pylos contained both (4,8,1). Later on we are told that 128 of them were killed in the fighting and that of the 292 men who eventually surrendered only 120 were Spartans (4,38,5). This passage, then, tells us the following things. First, *all* the *lochoi* had been assembled and the occupying force had been selected from amongst them by lot. Second, this force, made up of both Spartans and Perioikoi, numbered 420 men. Third, each such Lacedaemonian garrison stayed on the island only for a limited time and was then replaced by an equal force selected in the same manner. After several such handovers the last garrison was trapped and destroyed.

The procedure by which troops were selected for Sphakteria was different from that used to create standing forces of *logades*. These, like many standing *corps d'elite* such as the Hippeis, tended to be three hundred men strong. A Spartan force of 300 was destroyed by the Messenians during the Great Revolt (Hdt. 9,64,2); we do not know the identity of this corps, but I suspect its members to have been selected *ad hoc*. There were also 300 of the legendary Spartan *logades* who fought an equal number of Argive champions for possession of Thyreatis (Hdt. 1,82). Probably they too had been selected *ad hoc*. A procedure of this sort also brought together the famous 300 of Thermopylae: Leonidas is said to have picked his men from amongst those Spartans who already had a son (Hdt. 7,205,1–2). It is tempting to assume that his selection was thereby restricted to the year classes 30 to 59, since in archaic Sparta 30 was probably the age by which a man was supposed to have married and, ideally, begotten a son. The selection procedure of 480, then, may not have been a random one encompassing all Spartan fathers of sons, but one aimed at assembling a force that was more or less representative of the whole body of adult

citizens aged 30 to 59 (inclusive). Ten men could have been picked by lot from each of these 30 year classes.[30] Admittedly this is speculation, since we have no evidence as to how the selection was actually made. I believe, however, that the idea of selecting a representative sample did play some part in the creation of forces of this sort, as opposed to standing elite corps such as the Hippeis, whose members were, as we shall see, selected from the younger year classes only.

The same idea of a representative force must have lain behind the selection of the Sphakteria garrison. The peculiar number 420 can in my opinion be explained only in terms of the total number of year classes, which was 42. As we have seen, it was not at all unheard of for the very youngest and oldest year classes to be called up in times of emergency and actually to participate in campaigns, as happened in 418 BC. It may also have happened during the full mobilisation at the time of Plataea in 479 BC. The number 420 'taken by lot from all the *lochoi*' in 425 BC clearly points, not only to the total of 42 year classes, but also *to a total of ten lochoi.* These must have been the five Spartan *lochoi* that we have already met and their Perioikic counterparts. During a full mobilisation such as that of 479 Spartans and Perioikoi were mobilised in equal numbers, so that the latter also fielded five *lochoi*. This should therefore have been the case during the Pylos campaign of 425. The landing force for Sphakteria would then have been selected by picking from each of the ten *lochoi* one man from each of the 42 year classes. In theory a full *enômotia* could have been selected from each *lochos* by lot, since, as we shall see below, the Spartan *enômotia* consisted in principle of one man from each of the 42 year classes. As a Spartan *enômotia* seldom numbered exactly 42 men, however, we may assume that the other procedure was chosen. When he picked his men for Thermopylae Leonidas does not seem to have bothered too much about possible objections (e. g. that men chosen in such a way would not necessarily be very well acquainted with each other) and because of this the authorities of 425 probably decided upon a similar procedure, this time extending the number of year classes called up from 30 to the full 42. In any case,

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[30] See also Lazenby (1985) 54. (I am not convinced by his explanation that a taboo against fighting during the Karneia applied in particular to Spartans under the age of thirty.)

the number 420, combined with the information that these men were selected from *all* of the Spartan and Perioikic *lochoi* combined, seems to confirm my reconstruction of the Spartan army in 418 BC: the Spartans and the Perioikoi fought in separate *lochoi*, of which five were Spartan and five, since it had been a full mobilisation, Perioikic.[31]

This reconstruction can be applied to at least the whole of the period from 479 to 418, if not to the Late Archaic Age as well. In any case, Xenophon's account of a different organisation based on mixed Spartan and Perioikic *morai* should not prevent us from accepting the five Spartan and five Perioikic *lochoi* as the main building blocks of the army throughout the greater part of the fifth century and possibly the sixth before it. The army we know from the *Hellènika* and the *Lakedaimoniôn Politeia* must be seen within the context of the Spartan society and the Greek politics of that age. Finally, an organisation based on five *lochoi* can be said to have been both typically Spartan and reflective of a widespread tendency, especially in the Peloponnese, to divide armies and/or groups of citizens into five sections.

In Sparta there were, of course, the five ephors and also lesser colleges of five. Each year five *Agathoergoi* were selected from amongst the men who were retiring from the Hippeis (Hdt. 1,67,5). According to later sources the organisation of the Karneia was in the

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[31] There is a variety of opinions on the composition of the Sphakteria garrison. Toynbee's idea (1969, 377) that the force was made up of 12 *enômotiai* of 35 men apiece (i.e. one *enômotia* from every *lochos* or two from each of the six *morai)* has found broad acceptance; see e.g. Cartledge (1979) 256; *idem* (1987) 41–42; Lazenby (1985) 45 (who, however, conjectures that the non-Spartiate part of the garrison consisted of *Hypomeiones).* If my reconstruction is correct the force of 420 Lacedaemonian hoplites on the island consisted of 210 Spartans and 210 Perioikoi. Of these some 90 Spartans were killed in action, as against 38 Perioikoi. These numbers reflect the extent to which the Spartans themselves must have believed in the image of Spartan endurance and steadfastness: unlike the Perioikoi, they must have found it well-nigh unthinkable to surrender or to evade the Athenians, and so they died in larger numbers. At last, when their commander had been killed and his successor was thought to be dead, the Spartans gave in to the idea of ending the hopeless battle. The mocking comments made afterwards in Athens to the effect that all the truly brave had been killed and that only cowards had survived were all the more bitter for the surviving Spartans because they had acted entirely according to their reputation. In any case, the ratio of Spartans to Perioikoi among the survivors (120 : 172) can in my view never be used as an indication of the original proportions of Spartans and Perioikoi in the army, as has been done by various scholars.

hands of three groups of five *neoi*, one group from each of the three Dorian *phylai* (Hesych. s. v. *Kameatai)*. The ephebe fights at Platanistas were, at least in Roman times, overseen by five *Bidiaioi* (Paus. 3,11,2). Dorieus left to found a colony together with four *synktistai* (Hdt. 5,46,1). Five Spartan arbiters assigned Salamis to Athens (Plut. *Solon* 10,4). Five Spartan judges interrogated the men of Plataea after their capitulation (Thuc. 3,52,3). Last but not least, five villages—probably—constituted the 'city' of Sparta: Pitana, Limnai, Mesoa, Kynosoura and Amyklai.[32] These villages were almost certainly called *ôbai* in Sparta. Their names do not really match the names of the five *lochoi* as given by Aristotle (fr. 541 Rose; see above). In my view that is no serious objection to pursuing a connection: the name Mesoa, at least, can be recognised in the regimental name Mesoates or Messoages. Herodotus spoke of 'the *lochos* from Pitana' (Hdt. 9,53,2), although Thucydides strongly denied that any Spartan *lochos* had ever gone by that name (1,20,3).[33] This conflict can be resolved quite easily if we accept that, even though *Pitanatès* was indeed not its official or even its vernacular name, one of the *lochoi* had strong ties with Pitana: its *lochagos*, Amompharetos, was from Pitana and so may all its officers have been. It would be remarkable indeed had the division of Spartan citizens into five regiments had nothing to do with their division into five villages. The fact that there were five of the latter almost certainly explains the various committees of five mentioned above. Since the

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[32] Kennell (1995) 162–9, denies Amyklai the status of one of Sparta's 'villages' and assigns to it semi-autonomous status, leaving Sparta proper with only four villages. I can see no evidence that Amyklai was in any such position during the classical period, whatever her status may have been in Roman times. The importance of the Hyakinthia and the yearly procession from Sparta to Amyklai seem to indicate a very close connection between the two, to say the least. Perhaps Athens and Eleusis offer some point of comparison, for the inhabitants of the latter, whatever their local traditions and religious privileges, were certainly Athenian citizens and formed part of the Athenian hoplite army.

[33] See on this issue Kelly (1981) with whose reconstruction (Herodotus' *lochos Pitanatès* was actually the corps of 300 Hippeis!) I cannot agree. In my view the importance of the whole subject (was *Pitanatès* the historical name of a *lochos* or not?) has been somewhat overestimated. It should be noted that even if Thucydides is right this does not imply that the *lochos* as such was unknown in fifth-century Sparta. On the contrary, one could argue that had Thucydides known that the Spartan army had no *lochoi* he would have said so. As it was, he only wanted to correct the suggestion that one such *lochos* was called *Pitanatès*.

army's regiments had necessarily to be of equal size (16 *enômotiai* each) and since the populations of the villages clearly cannot have remained exactly the same from year to year, it is probable that regular adjustments were made by which men from one village were assigned to the *lochos* connected with another. In principle, however, each *lochos* must in my view have been connected with a particular village or *ôba* and this connection would probably have been maintained consistently when it came to choosing the *lochos*' commander and possibly even all its officers. As the villages or *ôbai* varied in size, one *lochos* might have been manned entirely from 'its' village while another, connected to a smaller village, drew the bulk of its soldiers from that village but made up its numbers with 'supernumerary' troops from one or more other villages. Perhaps Mesoa was so big that during the fifth century it was always able to produce a fully manned *lochos*, the Mesoates or Messoages of the *scholia.* The other *lochos* names remain unexplained, however (see n. 29).

Finally, the five main divisions of the Spartan army of the fifth century had, so to speak, an archaic flavour. Fivefold structures of this sort were already prominent in the *Iliad*.[34] In the fifth century Corinth had five *stratègoi* (Thuc. 1,29,2; 46,2), a figure that, in combination with the fact that there were 5000 Corinthian hoplites at Plataea in 479 (Hdt. 9,28), makes a fivefold division of the Corinthian army highly probable. Argos too had five *stratègoi* in 418 BC (Thuc. 5,59,5), while we have already seen that the normal Argive levy was divided into five *lochoi* (Thuc. 5,72,4). The five *lochoi* of classical Sparta, then, were no anomaly either amongst Spartan institutions or in the wider context of Peloponnesian or archaic army divisions.

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[34] See my dissertation (in Dutch): Singor (1988) 21–22. Examples are *Iliad* 2, 494–495 (the Boeotians under five commanders); 4,293–296 (the Pylians under five commanders); 11,56–65 (the Trojans advance under the supreme command of Hector with five sub-commanders); 15,329–342 (same situation); 12,86–107 (the Trojans advance in five divisions: *pentacha)*; 16,171–197 (the Myrmidons are arranged in five *stiches).*

6. *Year classes and* enômotiai

We must now return to the battlefield of Mantinea and to Thucydides' text, since we need to explore the Spartan *enômotia*, consisting of one man from each year class, a little further. It is this remarkable institution that, in close connection with the elite corps of the Hippeis, reveals, as it were, the demographic fabric of both the army and the society of classical Sparta.

When King Agis made his hurried march from Sparta to southern Arcadia in the summer of 418 BC he brought with him, as we have seen, every Spartan of military age, i. e. the results of a full call-up of all 42 year classes. From across the border in Orestheion he sent back one sixth of this force: the youngest and the oldest soldiers, belonging to the year classes 18–19 and 55–59. The remaining year classes were not all involved in the battle, however, for we hear from Thucydides that the Lacedaemonian camp was guarded by 'older (Lacedaemonian) soldiers' (72,3). Fewer than 35 year classes, then, were represented on the battlefield of Mantinea. As an *enômotia* numbered 32 men at most, we may assume that the older soldiers left behind in the camp were those in the age group 52–54, leaving 32 year classes (20–51) to make up the actual battle formation. The importance of the correlation between the size of the *enômotia* and the number of year classes called up has been recognised by several scholars.[35] At Leuctra in 371 BC the Spartans had mobilised the 35 year classes from 20 to 54 inclusive (Xen. *Hell.* 6,4,17) and on the battlefield the *enômotiai* were drawn up 12 men deep *(ibid.* 6,4,12). These figures are clearly related. If 35 year classes were mobilised the *enômotia* could have been arranged either in three files of 12 men (if the enomotarch counted as the 36th man) or in two files of 12 and one of 11 (if the enomotarch was himself one of the 35 men from the 35 year classes). In any case, both at Mantinea in 418 and at Leuctra in 371 the size of the *enômotia* depended upon the number of year classes called up for battle duty. This naturally requires some explanation, since 'demographically speaking' such an arrangement would seem to have been well-nigh impossible.

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[35] See e.g. Chrimes (1949) 388–390; Toynbee (1969) 368–371; Hodkinson (1983) 255; Lazenby (1985) 7, 12; Cartledge (1987) 41.

In classical Sparta, of course, mortality must have been such that a significant percentage of each cohort of 20-year-olds would have been dead after twenty or thirty years. It would be impossible, on the face of it, to construct a permanent organisation comprising *all* adult males aged 20 to 59 by recruiting to each *enômotia* exactly one man from every year class. If all Spartans of military age had to serve in the army and the army consisted of 80 *enômotiai* (16 in each of the five *lochoi)*, every year class from 20 to 59 (inclusive) would have had to contain 80 men if all the places were to be filled according to this scheme. This is an absurd proposition: the number of 20-year-olds is bound considerably to have surpassed the number of 40-, let alone 60-year-olds. Although the actual age distribution of Spartan males in the fifth century BC will never be known, the younger year classes must always have outnumbered the older ones, probably heavily. The *enômotia* was nonetheless organised in such a way that its size corresponded to the number of year classes called up. In theory the Spartans could have made up as many *enômotiai* as they had soldiers aged 20, but the inevitable consequence would have been that so many gaps would have opened up where men in the older year classes were missing that the number of men in each of these *enômotiai* could never have matched the number of year classes mobilised. Alternatively, the number of *enômotiai* could have been decided according to the number of Spartans in the year class 50, or even 59, but in that case a large number of younger men would have been left out. In my view, there is only one solution: we must assume that in practice the *enômotiai* did not invariably consist of one man from every year class, but that now and then two men from one year would be assigned to the same unit to replace men missing from the older year classes. The end result would still have been that the *enômotia* would have contained as many men as the number of year classes called up. This could have been done by assigning one 20-year-old to each *enômotia* and then keeping the rest of that age class in reserve to fill up vacancies. Obviously there would have had to be some correlation between the size of this 'reserve' and the average number of extra men needed to fill in the gaps. Further, for such a system to exist it would have had to work smoothly and without too much administrative ado. I believe that this was indeed the case. Every 20-year-old Spartan (the age at which one formally entered the army) was assigned to an *enômotia* except for a minority that was left aside to

function as a sort of reservoir. From this a small number would be taken every year to fill in the gaps that were bound to appear. The reservoir or surplus that kept this system going was provided by the elite corps of the Hippeis.

The Spartan army of 418 BC contained 80 *enômotiai,* but it also contained other troops. Outside the *lochoi* (and therefore outside the *enômotiai*) there was a special force: the 300 knights or Hippeis. In them we are entitled to see the 'surplus' referred to above. Not every young man of 20 was assigned to an *enômotia*; every year some would be selected for the Hippeis. We now have our theoretical framework. By filling in the numbers we can see how the system worked.

First, let us look at the Hippeis, the elite corps of 300 young men. We have already learned that every year five men would be selected from amongst the retiring Hippeis for special duties. These were the *Agathoergoi* of whom Herodotus speaks (1,67,5). He does not tell us the age at which the Hippeis retired, but there is every reason to suppose that it was thirty, since that was the age at which a young man became a fully adult citizen. The fourth-century *Lakedaimoniôn Politeia* attributed to Xenophon tells us that the Hippeis were selected from amongst the *hèbôntes* (4,1–3), i.e. from the age group immediately above that containing the *meirakia* (3,1), and that they had to leave the corps at the age at which a man became eligible for public duties in Sparta (4,7). This, as I have said, almost certainly meant at the age of thirty. The Hippeis, then, all belonged to the year classes 20–29. According to the *Lakedaimoniôn Politeia*, the ephors appointed three *Hippagretai* each year and these men then picked a hundred men each for the Hippeis (4,3). It is hard to believe, however, that all 300 men were replaced each year. It is more likely that the three Hippagretai selected the new 20-year-olds—the *hèbè*—and that the 30 men thus selected served in this special army corps for ten years. A strength of 300 was probably a theoretical maximum, since in reality the effects of mortality must have reduced the Hippeis to an average of perhaps 270 men. Each year on average some 25 men would reach the age of thirty and have to leave the corps. It was they

who provided the extra manpower needed to fill the gaps in the ranks of older men.[36]

Let us now consider the *enômotiai.* I shall take the figure of 80 *enômotiai* (five *lochoi* of 16 *enômotiai* each, as in the army at Mantinea) as a starting point. Every year at least 80 20-year-old Spartans were needed to fill their ranks. I believe that it would be most realistic to assume a pool of candidates that was slightly larger than this, say 85, since had it been 80 there would very quickly have been vacancies even amongst the youngest year groups. (I shall return to this question below, in section 8). In general, then, each of the *enômotiai* took on one new recruit every year, while a small number of these units (perhaps 5 out of 80) would take on two. At the same time, every year each *enômotia* would lose one or two men who had reached the age of sixty or died. Their places would be taken by the new 20-year-olds or by former Hippeis (about 25 of whom retired each year, as we saw above). Every year, then, the 80 *enômotiai* would take on between them about 85+25=110 men. To put this another way, each *enômotia* would get one young recruit regularly every year and would also compensate for natural wastage by taking on an extra man (usually one of the former Hippeis) every two or three years. All this can best be illustrated by taking one of the model life tables from Coale & Demeny to represent the hypothetical age structure of classical Sparta.[37] According to this model the various age groups would have comprised the following percentages of the total adult male population (i.e. men aged 18 +):

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[36] For the Hippeis see also Nafissi (1991) 153–161. It was probably the task of the Hippagretai to make up the three new lists of a 'hundred' Hippeis apiece by adding the names of 30 20-year-olds, possibly by putting up *pinakes* showing their names and at the same time erasing or taking down the *pinax* or *pinakes* showing the names of those who had completed their tenth year in the corps.

[37] Coale, Demeny, Vaughan (1983) 108 (Model West Males, mortality level 4). I follow the advice of the authors in using Model West for an unknown population (p. 25), as does Hansen (1985) 9–13, for Athens. Figueira (1986) 168 n. 10, uses Model South. In this the distribution of the age groups is spread more evenly, with a higher proportion of older people; in Model West the younger age groups are more heavily represented. Even using Model South, however, the overall picture would not be radically different. I have also followed Hansen in choosing the life table with growth rate 5.00. Perhaps for fifth-century Sparta a growth rate 0.00 would be more realistic, but that would change the numbers only very slightly. We have to keep it in mind that a model life table serves as an illustration of what might have been; the actual numbers will never be known.

18-19 year olds	: 6.7 %
20-29 „	: 29.7 %
30-39 „	: 25.0 %
40-49 „	: 18.0 %
50-59 „	: 11.9 %
60-+ „	: 8.7 %

Leaving aside the men aged 18-19, since they are unlikely to have been assigned to the *enômotiai* or to the Hippeis before the age of 20, we can use these figures to assess the numbers in the various age groups. The percentage of 20-year-olds, according to this model, would have been 3.3. Let us assume that 30 men of this age were recruited to the Hippeis and 85 to the *enômotiai.* This tells us that 3.3%=115 men. One per cent would therefore be 34.85 and consequently there would have been 3485 adult Spartan males aged 18 or above. In the following table, column (a) shows the numbers that would have been needed to fill every place in a theoretical army at its full strength of 80 *enômotiai* and 300 Hippeis; (b) shows those Spartans who only served in the *enômotiai,* assuming exactly 80 20-year-olds to have been recruited every year; (c) shows the same troops, but assumes there to have been 85 of these recruits (a more plausible number, I believe), and (d) shows the Hippeis and former Hippeis:

a. *in theory*	b. 80 *recruits to* enôm.	c. 85 *recruits to* enôm.	d. *(ex-)Hippeis*
20–29: 1100	20–29: 720	20–29: 753	20–29: 270
30–39: 800	30–39: 606	30–39: 642	30–39: 227
40–49: 800	40–49: 436	40–49: 462	40–49: 164
50–59: 800	50–59: 288	50–59: 306	50–59: 108

If on average 80 20-year-olds had entered the *enômotiai* each year (column b) the year classes 20–29 would have contained 720 men, rather fewer than the 800 required; there would have been 2153 men in the year classes 20–49 (720 + 606 + 436 in column b, 227 + 164 ex-Hippeis in column d), yet further short of the total needed (2400). The system of recruiting one man per year class to each *enômotia* would thus have resulted in wide gaps in the ranks. If, however, we assume the *enômotiai* to have had an annual intake of 85 20-year-olds there would have been 1857 routinely recruited men in the year classes 20–49 (column c) and 391 former Hippeis (column d), giving a total of 2248, much closer to the 2400 required. I believe the difference in this

case to be well within the margin of error, considering that the Spartans' actual age distribution may very well have deviated a little from the theoretical numbers given above. We have, moreover, reason to believe that there were already some gaps in the ranks of the *enômotiai* at Mantinea in 418 BC, since Thucydides remarks that they were *generally* drawn up in files of eight (68,3). Since the phalanx formations of the classical age were normally eight men deep[38] we can conclude that most of the files on this battlefield must have contained eight men, but that some (one or sometimes two per *enômotia*) contained only seven, reducing the total number of Spartan hoplites in the field by about a hundred.

As we have seen, King Agis must have led 32 year classes (those aged 20–51, i.e. 75.7 % of all adult Spartan males) into battle. If we assume that there were 85 new recruits a year (column c) this would have meant 1933 routinely recruited men plus 418 former Hippeis (column d), a total of 2351 men. To these should be added about 270 Hippeis, giving us 2621 Spartan hoplites in all. The number theoretically required would have been 2560+300=2860. The shortfall may even have been a little greater than this, since an unknown number of sick or injured men must have stayed behind in Sparta or at the camp. However, since in Sparta only healthy young men could become citizen-soldiers, and since moreover the social pressure to join the army in the field when the order to mobilise had been given must have been enormous, the percentage of the draft that stayed behind during Spartan expeditions may have been considerably lower than elsewhere. Perhaps a hundred or so absentees would not be far off the mark. On the other hand there were, as we have seen, already some visible gaps in the ranks at Mantinea. Furthermore, Agis' army included at least 105 officers (80 *enômotarchoi,* 20 *pentèkontères, 5 lochagoi)*, many of whom may very well have been older than 51. It is to be expected that officers would tend to belong to the upper age groups in a gerontocratic society such as classical Sparta. When the orders were given for those over 54 to go home and later for those over 51 to stay behind in the camp, officers belonging to these groups must have been excepted. By staying with their units they filled places that would otherwise have been left vacant. Gaps among the older

[38] See Pritchett (1971) 134 ff.

year classes and officers staying on 'over age' together probably go a long way to explain the difference between the numbers that would theoretically have been required (2860) and those that would actually have been there according to our model life table (2621), all the more so because the latter number is itself theoretical and could in reality have been slightly higher, since the actual life table of Spartan males in 418 BC is of course unknown.

We can now see that the '300' Hippeis aged 20–29 were indeed some sort of guarantee underwriting the *enômotia* system. Had there been no other source of manpower than the *enômotiai*, supposing the latter indeed to have been organised on the principle of one man from each year class, 80 *enômotiai* of 30 men each (aged 20–49) would have required 80 x 30 = 2400 men. In fact the model life table used above produces only 1857 men in these year classes (column c). Clearly the *enômotiai* needed extra men to fill their ranks, even if we consider the intake group to have consisted of 85 rather than 80 men. According to this model 543 extra men would have been needed (2400–1857). This extra manpower was largely provided by the former Hippeis (see column d). The 'reservoir' of manpower consisting of the ex-Hippeis aged 30–49 would have amounted to 391 men in all, enough to fill the majority of the 543 vacancies. The difference of 152 can be explained away partly by assuming that ageing officers stayed on and partly by accepting that there would have been some gaps in the ranks, as Thucydides suggests. For these reasons I believe that we cannot arbitrarily raise the estimate of 85 yearly recruits to the *enômotiai.* Had there been, let us say, 100 a year, practically every empty place would have been filled, leaving no gaps in the rear ranks on the battlefield. If, on the other hand, there had been many fewer than the 85 assumed here, the whole organisation of 80 *enômotiai* would have been in danger.

The overall picture of the correlation between the year classes and the *enômotiai* will be clear by now. One important implication of this is that the existence of the '300' Hippeis as a separate force was both a precondition for and a consequence of the recruitment of the *enômotiai* on the principle of one man from each year class. This fact in no way denies the possible social or political reasons for the existence of this elite force. The Hippeis were an aristocratic and conservative element of Spartan society. Whatever their character, however, 'demographically' they were rooted in the 'surplus' of men

in the younger year groups that was a necessary part of the system according to which the *enômotiai* recruited their men. This system was a peculiar one; in fact, as far as I can see it was unique in the Greek world. Although elsewhere too a system of 42 year classes was in use, nowhere else did any military unit, large or small, recruit by selecting equal numbers of men from each of these year classes. Why Sparta possessed this unique organisation is not difficult to see. It was rooted in the system of *syssitia* that lay at the heart of Spartan society.

7. *Syssitia, enômotiai* and *triekades.*

Spartan men lived most of their lives in the company of their fellow-men in the common messes or *syssitia.* Members of these ranged from young adults to over-sixties. When at war the members of a *syssition* shared a tent. There were too few of them (about fifteen at most) to form an entire tactical unit,[39] but the combination of three *syssitia* created what was effectively the smallest unit on the battlefield, the *enômotia.* This name refers to the oath that seems to have been deemed necessary to weld together groups of men who were not 'naturally' (i. e. by the bonds of kinship or the 'brotherhood' of the common mess) bound to each other.[40] It is my belief that each of the three *syssitia* thus joined must have come from a different one of Sparta's three Dorian *phylai*, since cooperation between these *phylai* must have been considered quite 'unnatural' enough to require an oath. In any case, it was Sparta's *syssitia* system that gave rise to an army organisation so curiously linked to demographic structure. The *syssitia* were deliberately organised on the principle of grouping men of different ages together (cf. *Lak. Pol.* 5,5). Combining three *syssitia* to form one *enômotia* created a warrior band of some forty or more

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[39] We have two indications of the size of the *syssition*: 'about fifteen' according to Plutarch *(Lyk.* 12,3), and 'ten' according to the scholiast in Plato, *Laws* 633A. The latter number seems to me to have been deduced from references in the *Lakedaimoniôn Politeia* to the king, his staff of six polemarchs and three *Homoioi* on campaign, and therefore to carry little weight for us. I prefer Plutarch's 'about fifteen'. I hope to treat the subject of the organisation of the Spartan *syssitia* elsewhere.

[40] Cf. Siewert (1972) 58–9 (the *enômotia* as "eine gegenseitig eidlich verpflichtete Gemeinschaft"). It is not known whether this oath was administered once and for all when these units were created or renewed each year when the 20-year-olds entered the ranks.

men aged from 20 to over 60. Most of the year classes 20–59 would have been represented by one man each, although there would have been some gaps among the older men, while some of the younger year classes would have been represented by two men instead of one. In general, however, the correlation between the size of the *enômotia* and the number of year classes called up must have been clear enough. The *phylai* had been going since at least the seventh century BC. The *syssition,* membership of one of which had of its very nature to be linked to membership of a given *phylè,* was an institution that probably originated in the Archaic Age as well, even if during that earlier period it was not necessarily organised in exactly the same way as it was during the classical period. The organisation of the classical Spartan army thus probably owes its genesis to developments that took place during the Archaic Age, or more precisely in the sixth century, when after the final subjugation of the Messenians all Spartan citizens acquired the means to equip themselves as hoplites and to participate as 'Equals' in common messes.

We can now imagine, in broad outline, how the Spartan army of the classical period was built up. When a young Spartan reached the age of twenty he joined a *syssition.* All Spartan citizens were members of one of these institutions, with their overtly military connotations; anyone who failed to join one or lost his membership also lost his full citizen status. As has already been said, the *syssitia* all but disappeared into the structure of the army itself, being too small to be useful as an independent unit (Thucydides does not mention them in his enumeration of Spartan army units); the *enômotia,* created by combining three *syssitia,* was the smallest tactical unit and the army's basic building block. On joining a *syssition* it was usual for a young Spartan simultaneously to become a member of the appropriate *enômotia* as well. Some young men, however, were honoured with another duty: each year thirty men selected from amongst the new 20-year-olds did not take their places in the *enômotiai* into which the *syssitia* of which they were members merged when on campaign. These were the knights or Hippeis, the elite force that was recruited by the three Hippagretai. Presumably each one of the latter picked ten men and presumably again these ten would belong to the same *phylè* as their leader, so that the three Dorian *phylai* were equally represented in this crack corps. The remaining 20-year-olds who had not been selected as Hippeis immediately entered the *enômotiai* to

which their *syssitia* were linked. I suspect, in fact, that they would already have been assigned to their future *syssitia* before that age and would therefore also already have known which *enômotiai* they were destined for. In any case, they must already have been inducted into the army in some way at the age of 18 or 19 because otherwise full mobilisation of the complete *enômotia* containing one man from each of the 42 age classes from 18 to 59, as occurred at Sphakteria in 425 and again initially in the Mantinea campaign of 418, would have been impossible. The crucial selection made every year from among the 20-year-olds, then, was that of these thirty 'Knights'. Whereas all the other young Spartans found a place in the *enômotiai,* these thirty alone remained outside them. Together with the men similarly chosen over the past nine years they formed the select band of the Hippeis, traditionally supposed to number 'three hundred'.

The fourth-century *Lakedaimoniôn Politeia* ascribed to Xenophon tells us that every year when the three Hippagretai had selected a group of Hippeis apiece they publicly listed the names of those who had been chosen as well as the names of the others who had not. This seemingly strange procedure in fact amounted, I would suggest, to the yearly drawing up of a *katalogos* (the verb *katalegei* is used in *Lak. Pol.* 4,3) of all Spartan recruits of the age of twenty. This roll would appear, then, to have been divided into two parts, one listing the Hippeis and the other the rest, i. e. those who went straight into the *enômotiai* (cf. above, n. 36). I believe that it was this procedure that Herodotus had in mind when he wrote that "Lykourgos instituted for the purpose of war the *enômotiai,* the *trièkades* and the *syssitia*" (Hdt. 1,65,5). His succinct phrase sums up the essential structure of the Spartan army of Herodotus' day (the mid-fifth century): after youth came adulthood, at the age of twenty, with citizenship and participation in the army connected to one another as closely as possible: *all* young Spartans became members of *syssitia, most* of them were also thereby assigned to an *enômotia,* but an elite minority became the yearly *trièkas* or 'thirty'. A succession of ten *trièkades,* then, constituted the *corps d'elite* of the Hippeis. On leaving this force at the age of thirty these men, after a delay of ten years, at last took their places in the *enômotiai.* It was mainly this yearly reinforcement of the *enômotiai* (80 in the fifth century) with about 25 former 'knights' that enabled these units to maintain their strength and thus

the general correlation between their size and the number of year classes called up that we have already discussed.

8. *Army numbers and population decline*

According to the model life table that we are using, in 418 BC there should have been 3485 Spartan men aged 18 and upward (see above, section 6) and 2938 in the age classes 20–59 (section 6, columns c + d). The latter classes should in theory have provided 3500 men (column a), so there was a considerable gap between the numbers required and those actually realised. Since the year classes 52–59 did not participate in the battle of Mantinea, however, the shortfall in numbers was not as great as it might have been, although, as we have seen, the army was already showing some signs of the demographic strains that were only to increase in the following decades. This means that in 418 the existence of the Hippeis still went a long way to support the *enômotia* system by which one man represented every year class, but that it did not completely solve the manpower problem. This remains true even if we assume that a few more men than there were units were recruited into the *enômotiai* (85 instead of 80). I believe that 85 would have been approximately the right figure in 418 because any fewer would inevitably have resulted in much wider gaps in the Spartan ranks than Thucydides' description suggests. A number higher than 85, say 90, would still have given rise to some gaps among the oldest year classes, but not among the age-groups 20–51, which participated in the battle already suffering, according to Thucydides, from some vacancies in their midst.[41]

The number of 20-year-olds recruited to the *enômotiai* raises the question of the origins of the whole system. This organisation of 80 *enômotiai* cannot possibly have been devised at a time when a

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[41] With 90 recruits to the *enômotiai* the distribution over the age groups 20–29, 30–39, 40–49 and 50–59 would be 811, 682, 491, 325; all of these together with the Hippeis and former Hippeis (775; see above section 6, column d) would have totalled 3084, or, if we include only the year classes 20–51 that fought at Mantinea, 2854. This number is certainly too high, since according to Thucydides the *lochoi* numbered 512 men at most (in reality less, say 490, because not all the files achieved the normal depth of eight men). In other words, on paper the five regiments combined had a strength of 2560, plus 300 (again on paper) Hippeis.

shortage of manpower would have hindered its complete realisation. Whenever it was created, there must have been enough Spartans to fill all or nearly all the places in the *enômotiai* upon mobilisation of all the 42 year classes. This would have required 3660 men (80 x 42 plus 300), which implies that there would have had to be 132 20-year-olds (including thirty Hippeis) and 4000 men aged 18 and upwards. In practice, however, men who were over 55 were very rarely called up, so that we are perhaps entitled to postulate a smaller total number and consequently slightly fewer 20-year-olds, say 120. This would give us 3327 men aged 18–59 and 3636 adult men.[42] I find this a little more plausible, but even so Sparta must have suffered a slight population decline between the time at which this system was devised and the battle of Mantinea (from around 120 to around 115 20-year-olds, or from 3636 to 3485 adult males). If indeed when this system was first used literally every place could have been filled, then the decline by 418 BC must have been greater (from around 132 to around 115 20-year-olds, or from 4000 to 3486 adult men). In any case, if we accept that the 80-*enômotiai* system was created at a time when these units could be fully manned along the lines discussed here we must also accept that there was a decline in the Spartan population between that time and the Mantinea campaign of 418. How dramatic this decline was depends, of course, on the time scale. This brings us to the question of when the system was instituted.

By the time of the battle of Plataea in 479 BC the army of five *lochoi* already existed (see above, section 5). I take it that these consisted of 16 *enômotiai* each, just as the *lochoi* at Mantinea in 418 did. The structure of the *lochos*, with its four *pentèkostyes* of four *enômotiai* apiece, is so neat—1:4:16—that in my view it must have dated back to the beginnings of the *lochos* system itself. I find it hard to believe that these regiments would have been created with a strength of, say, 17 or 18 *enômotiai* and consequently *pentèkostyes* of varying size. One could, of course, assume the existence before 418 of bigger *lochoi* containing, for instance, 20 or 24 *enômotiai* each, but

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42 Again on the basis of the model life table used here. The 120 20-year-olds (90 for the *enômotiai* and 30 for the Hippeis) would have guaranteed the full manning of the *enômotiai* after the year classes 20–51 had been called up, as was the case on the battlefield of Mantinea (see n. 41 above). If all the 42 year classes were mobilised there would still have been gaps among the older men, however.

that would be pure speculation for which I can see no reason. We should therefore accept the premise that this structure of 80 *enômotiai*, 20 *pentèkostyes* and five *lochoi* was created at some time before the Persian Wars. The round numbers suggest that this structure was created deliberately. They imply that 240 *syssitia*, divided into three groups of 80 according to the three Dorian *phylai*, merged into 80 *enômotiai*. On average each *syssition* would have received a new member every two years (about 120 recruits a year between 240 *syssitia*). Why the Spartans chose to organise their army on this system we will never know, but the links with a traditional age-class society are obvious.[43] The pivotal age was the *hèbè*, the age of twenty. From then on a Spartan man was an adult, admitted into a *syssition* and by implication into an *enômotia* unless he were selected as part of the Hippeis' yearly *trièkas*. It may have been the custom of holding a great assembly every spring, the *Apella*, at which the young men were admitted into the ranks of the warriors, that gave rise to the whole system.[44] When this happened we do not know. Perhaps the first mention of the 300 Hippeis, which relates to the period around 560 BC (Hdt. 1,67), could be used as a *terminus ante quem*, although I would not ascribe too much authority to Herodotus' story of the *Agathoergos* Lichas in this respect. Perhaps a slightly later date for the introduction of the all-hoplite army in Sparta would be more plausible. Suffice it to say that the army we know from Thucydides' description already existed in 479 BC and had probably done so since the sixth century. If this is the case, the decline in the numbers of Spartan men aged 18 and over from a few more than 3600 (if there were 120 20-year-olds) to about 3500 can hardly be called dramatic.

If the decline in population took place between 479 and 418 it was indeed more remarkable, although even so there is no need to postulate the catastrophe with much loss of human life that many scholars have seen in the Great Earthquake of around 465 BC.[45] We simply do not know how serious the demographic effects of that

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[43] I believe that, whatever the shortcomings one may find in the details of his massive reconstruction of age-class systems in Greece, Sallares (1991) 165–174, is fundamentally correct in characterising archaic Sparta as an age-class society.

[44] For these *Apella/Apellai* see Burkert (1975) 8–11.

[45] See, among others, Toynbee (1969) 385–7; Anderson (1970) 241; Cartledge (1986) 431; Figueira (1986) 179.

earthquake were. If the decline had already been in progress for a century or more an explanation for it should certainly be sought not in some dramatic event but in the long-term effects of Sparta's social institutions themselves. I cannot go into these any further here, however, since to do so would require another essay.[46] Being so slight, the population decline may even have gone unnoticed for a long time. By the time of the Peloponnesian War, however, I believe the Spartan authorities had become aware of it. They would not have taken long to react to it. Their reaction was to take the form of a regrouping of the shrunken *syssitia* and *enômotiai* into larger regiments in which Spartans were mixed with Perioikoi: the *morai.* Before this important reform, throughout the long period since the creation of the army of five *lochoi*, the need for major reorganisation had never arisen. The postulation by modern scholars of hypothetical army reforms supposed to have taken place between 479 and 418 is in my view unwarranted. The picture we have is, on the contrary, one of continuity from the sixth century almost to the end of the fifth.

9. Conclusions

We may now reconstruct the broad outlines of the way in which Sparta's army was organised in 418 and indeed throughout the greater part of the fifth century BC. On reaching the age of twenty a young Spartan entered the *syssition* that would be his home, so to speak, for the rest of his life. The members of a *syssition* represented every age

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[46] See for the supposed population decline the literature mentioned above (n. 45), especially Figueira (1986). I do not believe that there is any historical value in later statements about the size of Sparta's citizen population (once numbering 10 000 according to Aristotle *Pol.* 1270 a37, or 9 000 according to Plutarch *Lyc.* 8,5–6; 16,1; *Agis* 8,2). Herodotus' figure of 5000 hoplites in the Plataea campaign is already an exaggerated estimate, although based on the fivefold division of the army. The boast put into the mouth of Demaratos (Hdt. 7,234,2) that "in Lacedaemonia there is the polis Sparta with 8 000 men" cannot be taken at face value either. In any case, the '5000' of 479 and the '8000' of 480 seem to be at variance with each other. I would prefer to see in Demaratos' boast a possible reflection of a rough estimate of Spartan *and* Perioikic hoplite numbers: the Spartans would not have had many fewer than 4000 men (aged 18 and upwards) and the Perioikoi would have mustered the same sort of number in a full-scale mobilisation. I would not like to press this any further, however, for in my view the '8000' is also primarily a rhetorical exaggeration. For Spartan economic institutions and the slow decline in the numbers of full citizens, cf. Singor (1993) 53–57.

group from twenty to over sixty. Three *syssitia* combined to make up the basic tactical unit of the army: the *enômotia.* Such an organisation could only be maintained if extra men were assigned to it to fill the empty places created by natural wastage. This extra manpower was mainly supplied by those who left the elite force of the Hippeis each year. In addition to the number of young men recruited into the *enômotiai* every year (90 or more when this system was created, about 85 by the time of Mantinea) 30 would be selected for the Hippeis. Of these 30, on average 25 would still be available at the age of thirty to fill up the gaps in the *enômotiai.* The Hippeis and the *enômotiai* together thus were, so to speak, the demographic basis for the organisation of classical Sparta's army.

The 80 *enômotiai* in the army of 418 BC were grouped into five *lochoi,* each *lochos* consisting of four *pentèkostyes* and 16 *enômotiai.* The *lochoi* were the major divisions of the army. They were commanded in the field by *lochagoi* who decided how many men deep the *lochos*' files should be, sometimes overruling the decisions of their sub-commanders. Since Sparta's was for all practical purposes a standing army, these officers, and especially the *lochagoi,* probably held more or less permanent commands, or at least held them for the duration of the year's military season. There were also a number of *polemarchoi* (six in the fourth century, an unknown number in the fifth) whose were essentially staff officers around the kings. When Perioikic troops were mobilised these too were grouped into *enômotiai, pentèkostyes* and *lochoi.* Each of these *lochoi* was then placed under the command of a Spartan polemarch. The polemarchs could also take on independent commands, leading army divisions of Perioikoi or mixed ones of Spartans and Perioikoi. In the latter case a king instead might act as commander. When all Spartans of military age had been mobilised the supreme command would naturally have fallen to one of the two kings.

In 418 BC the military and political situation in the Peloponnese appeared so dangerous for Sparta that King Agis assembled the army in great haste and marched north to help Tegea. All Spartans of military age were mobilised, while orders were sent to the Perioikoi. Of the latter, however, fewer than half managed to join the army in time for its departure, the rest arriving a few days later. After crossing the border into Arcadia Agis sent the Spartans in the year classes 18–19 and 55–59 home (they arrived on the scene again after the battle,

led by the other king, Pleistoanax, and accompanied by the remaining Perioikoi). In Arcadia Agis was joined by some of Sparta's allies and by the troops from Tegea. He then marched into Mantinean territory. With his polemarchs, his ten specially appointed advisers and probably others on his staff, he must have considered the tactical possibilities of the forthcoming battle. The main decisions to be taken concerned the place of each contingent in the line and the number of men to be deployed in each file. Files eight men deep were decided upon, surely because this was the normal formation and the easiest to execute. Some of the troops had to be assigned to guard the army's baggage train, a task that was normally performed by the older soldiers. In this case Agis and his staff ordered the year classes 52–54 to stay behind. This left 32 year classes to take the field, the necessary number if the *enômotiai* were to be arranged in lines of (at most) eight men. Those of the Perioikoi who had joined Agis' expedition were formed up into two *lochoi,* each under the command of one of the polemarchs. Polemarchs may also have commanded the two *lochoi* of former Helot soldiers. In the battle line the left wing was occupied by the special corps of 600 Skiritai. Next to them were the two *lochoi* of ex-Helots, then the five *lochoi* made up of the Spartans themselves and the crack corps of 300 Hippeis around the king. At the centre of the army were the allies from western Arcadia; to their right were the troops from Tegea and two *lochoi* of Perioikoi who had arrived just in time to join up with the army. The whole force was slightly larger than the opposing army (about 9900 against about 9000).

After a tactical blunder by the Spartan king a wide gap opened up in the left wing. This cost the lives of many of the guards in the camp, for the Mantineans and the elite corps of 1000 Argives forced their way through the gap to the wagons. Spartan morale was supreme, however, and the clash between the main Argive army and the Spartan *lochoi* ended in the routing of the Argives. This carried the day for Sparta and so, in one great battle, her power and prestige on the Peloponnese were restored.

The division of the army into five *lochoi* of Spartans and, after a full mobilisation, an equal number of *lochoi* of Perioikoi was reflected in the way in which the Sphakteria garrison was organised in 425 BC. The troops on that island numbered 420; they had been selected by lot from *all* the *lochoi,* which meant that there were ten full *enômotiai* of 42 men apiece. A Spartan army of 5000 men likewise took the field

organised in *lochoi* in 479. The number of men attributed to this force is certainly exaggerated; again, however, the fivefold division of the Spartan army at this time is reflected. Such a fivefold division is also attested to by Aristotle (fr. 541 Rose) and similar ones were to be found elsewhere in the Peloponnese. The *enômotia* was the building block of the Spartan army. The system of 80 *enômotiai* could be maintained only as long as the younger year classes included a demographic reserve from which the ranks of older men could be replenished. From this reserve the elite force of the Hippeis was recruited, consisting nominally of 300 men in the age groups 20–29. Every year thirty 20-year-olds (a *trièkas)* were selected as fresh recruits for this corps; all the other young Spartans of the same age went directly into the *enômotiai.* As to the time at which this system was created we know very little; it may already have existed by around the middle of the sixth century BC. Since it governed an all-hoplite army it cannot have gone back much further in time.

We may assume that at the time when this army was created it was possible to man all the *enômotiai* fully, or at least almost fully. There is no indication that the number of *enômotiai* was ever greater than the 80 of 418 BC. On the battlefield of Mantinea, however, the *enômotiai* showed some signs of being slightly undermanned. From this we may deduce a decline in the Spartan population during the period preceding 418 BC, although we cannot tell how steep that decline was. Very probably it was a long process that only became really serious in its final stage during the Peloponnesian War. In reaction to it, in the later years of the fifth century the army underwent a major reorganisation: the exclusively Spartan or Perioikic *lochoi* were replaced by mixed Spartan and Perioikic *morai.* This was the only reorganisation of the Spartan army during the classical period. Neither in the years between 479 and 418 nor even between the late sixth century and 418 did any such army reform take place.

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HERMOPOLIS IN THE CRISIS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE[1]

Peter van Minnen

This article discusses a text from Hermopolis Magna in Middle Egypt. The text, which has not received much scholarly attention, dates from the reign of Gallienus and allows us to establish the number of residential houses in Hermopolis and to estimate the population that lived in these houses. In conjunction with the extensive repair plan from Hermopolis from about the same time it allows us to measure the effect of the political crisis that rocked the Roman empire in the reign of Gallienus and to challenge the *communis opinio* among ancient historians that public construction and repair were paid for out of the pockets of the urban elite one way or another.[2] At least the role of euergetism in Roman Egypt cannot be substantiated with this evidence.

These are large claims to make on the basis of a fragmentary text, but the issues are important enough to address head-on. The size of the population is one of the most controversial issues facing social and economic historians of the Roman empire. The evidence needed to make even informed guesses often lacks entirely, and once a figure is settled on it prejudices further research. Pompeii is a case in point. For some types of research the size of its population does not make much of a difference, e.g., if one is studying paintings or mosaics. For others it does: not only for the kind of general study of the economy and society offered by Jongman,[3] but also for the hands-on study of individual houses advocated by Wallace-Hadrill.[4] In Jongman's case a

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[1] Papyri are cited according to J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (4th ed. 1992). All dates are A.D.

[2] Duncan-Jones (Cambridge 1990) 174-184, envisages both public and private funding of building projects in early Roman North Africa, but assumes that a large part of public financing ultimately derived from the elite as well through *summae honorariae* (p. 184).

[3] Jongman (1988).

[4] See now Wallace-Hadrill (1994).

population of, say, 20,000 would wreak havoc with most of his calculations, which are based on a population of 8,000-12,000. In Wallace-Hadrill's case it is essential to have some idea of how many people occupied an average house, and the figure he has come up with (7.5) is based on a population of 10,000. In this case it is also essential to have some idea of how many houses were occupied at any given moment and how many were not.

For comparisons between ancient towns, and between ancient and medieval or early modern towns, we need population figures that have been arrived at by applying the same criteria in each case. These criteria have recently been set out by Fushöller.[5] We can use the size of the site in conjunction with the occupational density, the number of houses in conjunction with the average number of people per house, and the number of adult males in conjunction with the ratio between adult males and the rest of the population, all three criteria independently of each other,[6] if possible. For most ancient towns we lack such data.[7] Even seemingly hard data, such as the size of sites, are often very unevenly reported in the literature.[8]

The public repair plan from Hermopolis from the reign of Gallienus has often been taken as evidence of prosperity in the face of the general crisis that supposedly affected the empire as a whole.[9] The

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5 Fushöller (1991).

6 Fushöller (1991) fails his own criteria here, because the figure he uses for the occupational density in towns in North Africa (365 per hectare) is itself based on the average family size, which he equates with the average number of people per house (5). The occupational density is a rather elastic figure. Duncan-Jones (1982) 259-287, gives a range of 76-326 people per hectare for ancient towns, whereas Bairoch (1988) 22-24, gives a range of 70-400 people per hectare for towns in the past. The occupational density in the ancient part of towns in the Near East is rather high. Broshi (1979) 1-10, gives a range of 400-500 people per hectare for cities, and Adams (1965) 24-25 and 123, gives over 200 people per hectare for villages (note that Hassan [1981], 66, misquotes Adams).

7 For medieval and early modern towns see Mols (1954-1956) and now De Vries (1984).

8 Fushöller (1991) provides a good example of this. In the case of Thamugadi the original settlement measured 11.5 hectares. Fushöller thinks the town subsequently expanded to 20 hectares. But Hopkins (1978) 69, gives 50 hectares, Lepelley (1982) 445, gives even 70 hectares. For Egyptian towns, which are archaeologically much less well known than Thamugadi, Bagnall (1993) 52, provides a series of unreliable figures. Even with the help of Davoli (1998) we cannot figure out the size of towns in the Fayyum, which are relatively well known.

9 Most recently by J.-M. Carrié in Carrié and Rousselle (1999) 706.

repair plan from Hermopolis, however, is directly linked with the political crisis. In this city the crisis took the form of local riots, which severely damaged the center of town. After the riots were over, repairs estimated at a little over 65 talents were paid for by a special levy on the urban population, as I will demonstrate shortly. Apparently they could not be paid for out of ordinary municipal funds nor out of the pockets of the municipal elite. Contemporary evidence for the municipal funds of Hermopolis suggests that the city had other obligations it could not default on, e.g., payments to its many athletes. Contemporary evidence for the municipal elite suggests that some of the most prominent magistrates were unable or not willing to fork out the amount required, because they even failed to supply small amounts of oil to the gymnasium. At any rate, monetary devaluation and the need to spend cash quickly cannot be behind the repair plan from Hermopolis, as someone has ingeniously suggested recently.[10] The repair plan antedates the onslaught of monetary devaluation by well over a decade.[11]

Before demonstrating all this in detail I give the Greek text of a document from the archive of the city council of Hermopolis from the reign of Gallienus. I reproduce the recent reedition by Drew-Bear[12] with some modifications in lines 12-14.[13] The text was previously

[10] Lukaszewicz (1986) 145-150.

[11] See Van Minnen (1987) 79, note 172: the inflation "took off" in 276/7. This was lost on Drexhage (1988). See now Rathbone (1996).

[12] Drew-Bear (1988a), no. 22 (with plate VI). She briefly discusses the text in the first volume (pp. 136-140).

[13] Wilcken (1920) 429, substituted ἐν [καταχωρ]ισμῷ ("on file") for ἐν [τῷ χειρ]ισμῷ in line 13. The syntax from line 6 onwards is awkward, and the scribe left a space between (τὴν δή)λωσιν and ἀ[νανκ]αίως in line 12 to make matters worse. He may have intended that τὴν δήλωσιν be taken with the preceding and ἀνανκαίως with what follows. Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides would in that case have been instructed to do two things: ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ γενομένου . . . μερισμοῦ . . . ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ γενομένου . . . ἀναλώματος τὴν δήλωσιν. Both ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι and τὴν δήλωσιν (scil. ποιήσασθαι) would be periphrastic (for ἐξετάσαι and δηλῶσαι respectively). Note the chiasmus ἐξέτασιν τοῦ γενομένου x and τοῦ γενομένου y τὴν δήλωσιν. For all its attractiveness, however, this construction would leave the main sentence without an object and therefore cannot be right. Moreover, Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides also reports on the collection, not just on the expenditure of the money. The main sentence surely runs as follows: τὴν δήλωσιν ἀ[νανκ]αίως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσύνοπτον τῆς κα[ταλή]μψεω[ς] τῆς ἀλ[ηθείας ἐποί]ησα. It is not τὴν δήλωσιν . . . ἐποιησάμην, because the expression is not periphrastic (not "I have reported," but "I have made the report"), as is clear from what follows (λαβών etc.). Drew-Bear reads

published by Wessely as *SPP* V 101[14] and, until the reedition by Drew-Bear is officially published and generally available, the text will have to be referred to as such. Portions of the text read by Wessely but now apparently lost are underlined in the following transcription. The text is in two fragments, which do not join, but which are clearly written in the same hand and must come from the same document. They may be from the top and bottom of the same column. At least one more column followed.

Fr. A

ιη
[τῇ κ]ρατίστῃ βουλῇ [Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς μεγάλ]ης ἀρχαίας κ[αὶ σεμνο]-
[τ]άτης καὶ λαμ[προτάτης διὰ Αὐρηλίο]υ Κορελλίου [Ἀλε]-
4 [ξά]νδρου ἱππι[κοῦ] ἀπὸ σ[τρατιῶν καὶ ὡς] χρη(ματίζει) ἐνάρχ(ου) π[ρ]υτ[άνεως]
π[α]ρὰ Αὐρη[λίου Ἑρ]μαίου [τοῦ καὶ] Ἡρακλ[είδο]υ βουλευτ[οῦ ἀποδεδει]-
γ[μ]ένου ἐξ[εταστ]οῦ τῆ[ς (αὐτῆς) πόλεως]. ἐνγρά[φως ἐ]πεσταλμένος [ὑφ' ὑ]-
μῶν ἀκολού[θως τ]οῖς [ὑπομν]ήματι[σθε]ῖσι ἐν τῷ βουλευτη[ρίῳ]
8 ἐξέτασιν ποιή[σ]ασθαι τοῦ γ[ε]νομένου ἀ[ργυ]ρικοῦ ἑξηκονταδρ[ά]-
χμου μερισμ[οῦ] εἰς τὸ κατ' οἰ[κ]ίαν τῆς πό[λε]ως ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰσ[ιέ]ναι
τὰ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου εἰσπεπραγμένα ἀργύρια ἔτι τε καὶ τ[οῦ]
γενομένου [ἀπὸ το]ύτων τῶν ἀργυρίω[ν] ἀναλώματος τὴν δή-
12 λωσιν ἀ[νανκ]αίως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσύνοπτον τῆς κα[ταλή]μψεω[ς]
τῆς ἀλ[ηθείας ἐποί]ησα λ[αβὼ]ν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν [καταχωρ]ισμῷ δ[ημο]-
σίων β[ιβλίων ἑκ]άστου [ἀμφ]όδου τῶν οἰ[κιῶν τὸν κατάλογον],
ὅθεν [συνεπιζ]ητή[σας τ]ὰ συναγόμενα κ[εφάλαια ca. 10]
16 οὐ μόνο[ν ......] παρ[ὰ τῶ]ν γν\ω/στήρων ἐπ[ca. 15]
γραφω[........]ι[....]οντος τὸν αὐτὸν [ca. 15]
καὶ ου[........]τ[...]ων συνλογισαμέ[νων ca. 10]
ἐπιν.[........] τῶ[ν προσ]φωνηθέντω[ν ca. 15]
20 [...]τα[ca. 13 με]μαθηκέναι ε.[ca. 15]

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the main sentence as follows: τὴν δήλωσιν ἀ[νανκ]αίως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσύνοπτον τῆς κα[ταλή]μψεω[ς ταύ]της ἄλ[λως ἐποί]ησα. In that case ἄλλως, which is not long enough to fill the lacuna, would be meaningless and ταύτης would hang in the air, because the κατάλημψις ("understanding," not "récapitulation," as Drew-Bear translates) has not been mentioned previously. Drew-Bear also puts τόν in the first lacuna in line 14, but there does not seem to be enough room there. I have therefore moved it to the end of the line where it does no harm. In line 11 Drew-Bear has ἐκ instead of ἀπό.

[14] Wessely (1905), no. 101.

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Fr. B

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λ...[ἐν κε]-
φαλ[αίῳ (τάλαντα) .. (δραχμαὶ) .. ὧν διεγρ]άφη [ὑπὸ ca. 10]
τοῦ καὶ Ἀχιλλ[έως βουλ(ευτοῦ) ἀπ]αιτητοῦ (τάλαντα) κγ (δραχμαὶ) ..
[ca. 10]
24 πόλεως λιβὸς [ἐν ᾧ εἰσιν] οἰκίαι ἀριθμῷ ʼΒ[ca. 10]
ἡλιαστήρ[ι]α [....... σ]ὺν πάσαις κτήσεσιν [ca. 10]
ὁμοίως εκ[ca. 10 ἐ]ν κεφαλαίῳ (τάλαντα) ιθ (δραχμαὶ) .[ὧν διε-
γρ(άφη)]
ὑπὸ Δ[ι]οσ[κ]όρου [Σ]αραπ[άμμω]νος βουλ(ευτοῦ) ἀπαιτητοῦ (τά-
λαντα) [..]

Fr. A: Page 18

To the most powerful council of Hermopolis the Great, the Ancient and Most Reverend and Luminous through Aurelius Corellius Alexander, *eques a militiis* and however he is styled, president in office, from Aurelius Hermaios alias Herkleides, councillor and designated inspector from the same city.

Since you have instructed me in writing in accordance with the minutes of the council to make an inquiry (a) concerning the money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas a piece according to the house-by-house census of the city to make sure that the money collected on this score has come in and (b) concerning the expenses paid from this money, therefore, to make sure that the truth is clearly comprehensible, I have made the report by taking the list of houses in each quarter from the public record office, on which basis I have checked the sums collected - - - not only - - - from the *gnosteres* - - - write - - - the same - - - and - - - booked - - - declared - - - to have learned - - -

Fr. B: - - - the sum of x talents and x drachmas, of which were paid by X alias Achilleus councillor and collector 23 talents and x drachmas - - -

West City quarter where there are 2000+ houses - - - drying places - - - with all properties - - - likewise - - - the sum of 19 talents and x drachmas, of which were paid by Dioskoros son of Sarapammon councillor and collector x talents - - -

In this text, perhaps from the summer of 267, Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides, also known as inspector-in-office from *SPP* V 53 of October 10, 267,[15] reports to the city council of Hermopolis through its president, the well-known Aurelius Corellius Alexander, on the collection of an otherwise unattested levy, the "money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas" (ἑξηκοντάδραχμος μερισμός), and the expenses paid from this levy.[16] Since the city council is interested in how the money was spent, it seems that the "money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas" was a municipal tax, not a state tax, which would have disappeared without trace in the coffers of the state.[17] Since this tax is unattested elsewhere and Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides goes to some length to explain how he went about inspecting its collection, it seems that the "money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas" was levied *ad hoc* and that no precedent for it was available. If it had been a regular tax its inspection would not have had to be explained in such detail. *SPP* V 101 thus provides us with the only unambiguous evidence for a municipal *merismos* of this sort from Egypt,[18] a direct tax levied on the population for a specific purpose. From the way in which Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides explains how he went about inspecting the collection of the "money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas" in lines 13-14 as well as from the account he gives of the West City quarter from line 24 onwards it follows that the tax was levied on houses, not individuals.

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[15] On this text see provisionally Drew-Bear (1984) 808-809. She restores Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides' title there (line 4) as ἐξεταστής. If this restoration is correct and if inspectors were nominated for a year, *SPP* V 101 must date from the immediately preceding year (266/7), perhaps rather from the end of that year, because he has already been designated inspector (lines 5-6). There is no reason to distinguish Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides from other inspectors, as Wilcken (1912), vol. 1.1, 168, does. He is not yet an inspector-in-office, but he is already performing an *ad hoc* inspection.

[16] Not the expenses incurred by the tax collectors, as Eitrem and Amundsen (1936) 141, seem to imply by reading (with Wessely) [διὰ το]ύτων in line 10 and translating "the expenditure caused by the levy." The tax collectors, themselves councillors, would have had to pay such expenses out of their own pockets.

[17] See Jouguet (1911) 434.

[18] Blumenthal (1913) 333-335, suggested that the μερισμὸς Ἀδριανείου in *P.Lips.* 93-96, was a municipal tax levied to defray the cost of building a temple for Hadrian in Hermopolis in the year 131/2. The year is, however, uncertain, and the character of the *merismos* remains in doubt. There also was a μερισμὸς Ἀδριανείου in Elephantine in 155: see *O.Wilck.* 227.

He gives the total number of houses in the West City quarter (2000+) and then apparently deducts structures that do not qualify as residential houses, such as ἡλιαστήρια ("drying places" for wine) and κτήσεις, properties with another, presumably agricultural function. Information on these had probably been gathered from the so-called *gnosteres* mentioned in line 16, officials who were supposed to know the part of town they were responsible for.

SPP V 101 is an extremely important document in that it gives total figures for two out of the four quarters of Hermopolis. For the 2000+ houses in the West City quarter a total sum of 19+ talents is projected. Presumably this will have been close to the amount actually collected by the tax collector, Dioskoros son of Sarapammon, a fellow-councillor of Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides. For the quarter preceding the West City quarter the amount actually collected by X alias Achilleus, another fellow-councillor of Aurelius Hermaios alias Herakleides, is 23+ talents. At a rate of sixty drachmas a house this figure implies for this quarter a total of 2300+ houses for which the "money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas" has actually been paid. In the West City quarter the number of such houses will have been close to 1900+ to correspond to the projected contribution of 19+ talents, whereas the total number of houses there is over 2000. In the two quarters of Hermopolis covered by what remains of the text we may reckon with a total of about 4300 residential houses.

Which quarter of Hermopolis had 2300+ houses and what was the number of houses in the two missing quarters? Hermopolis consisted of four quarters of unequal size.[19] The southern part of town consisted of the East and West City quarters, which were separated from each other by a processional street, a so-called *dromos*. It seems that this street cut the southern part of town in about equal halves. The northern part of town was smaller than the southern part and consisted of the East and West Fort quarters. The central part of both these quarters consisted of the enclosed precinct of the great temple of Thoth, the eponymous god of Hermopolis (Thoth = Hermes), and the dividing line ran somewhere in the middle. Although both the East

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[19] This is ignored by Alston and Alston (1997) 202-203, who rather mechanically double the figures in *SPP* V 101 and give a total of 8468 houses for Hermopolis with a total population of 58,429.

and West Fort quarters were used for human habitation at least from the late Ptolemaic period onwards, the presence of a large temple must have kept the occupational density in the northern part of town well below that of the southern part. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that the quarter with 2300+ houses, which is close enough to the 1900+ houses of the West City quarter, is the East City quarter. The two missing quarters are the East and West Fort quarters.

Some help in establishing the number of houses in the two missing quarters comes from an early Roman text from Hermopolis listing minor officials chosen from among the urban population to make preparations for the official visit of the prefect of Egypt, L. Valerius Proculus, in 145-147. *P.Lond.* III 1159 is unfortunately incomplete, but the preserved part, perhaps as much as three quarters of the original text, lists 50 officials with their residence. They come from all four quarters of Hermopolis as follows:

East Fort	8
West Fort	9
East City	13
West City	20

The ratio between the East and West City quarters is not quite what we expected on the basis of *SPP* V 101 (13 : 20 as against 2300+ : 1900+), no doubt because *P.Lond.* III 1159 is incomplete. The ratio between the Fort and the City is 17 : 33 and may also be biased towards the one or the other. Before we apply this ratio to the number of houses in *SPP* V 101 the difference in date between the two texts, about 120 years, should also give us pause. We may assume that the occupation of the precinct of Thoth, which lies at the heart of the Fort quarters, became denser over time. Whether this process had already reached its zenith by the time *P.Lond.* III 1159 was written is unknown and therefore the ratio between the Fort and City quarters may have been a little closer by the time *SPP* V 101 was written. If we nevertheless apply the ratio between the Fort and City quarters in *P.Lond.* III 1159 to the number of houses in *SPP* V 101 we arrive at a total of about 2200 houses for the two Fort quarters and a total of about 6500 houses for Hermopolis as a whole. A comparable figure from another metropolis in Roman Egypt exists only for Apollono-

polis Heptakomias in 116 (1273 houses).[20] This was a much smaller town than Hermopolis.

How many people lived in these 6500 residential houses? To calculate this we only need to know the average number of people per house. An extensive house-list from Philadelpheia from the late first century[21] implies that at that time there were about 7 people per house. If we apply this figure[22] to the number of houses in Hermopolis during the reign of Gallienus we arrive at a population figure of about 45,000. Perhaps the occupational density in a fairly large village in early Roman Egypt was different from that of a large metropolis in the third century, but there is no reason to think that it was higher, on the contrary.[23] At any rate, the population of Hermopolis in the third century was considerably larger than about 20,000, the figure for

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[20] See Wilcken (1920) 429. The figure is mentioned in *P.Brem.* 23. Wilcken also mentions a figure for the number of houses in Thmuis (3560) in the second century, but this is based on the number of wards attested (20) and the minimum number of houses in one of these wards (178), implied by *PSI* III 230. See on this text Wilcken (1920) 381. Although it is possible that the wards in Thmuis were each about the same size (this they certainly were in Apollonopolis Heptakomias), the actual number of houses may have been much higher than 178. Fichman (1971) 114-115, adds a figure of 6000 houses for Roman Oxyrhynchus, but this is again based on extrapolation from one quarter only. Alston and Alston (1997) provide the most recent discussion of these and similar figures.

[21] See Hobson (1985) 218-222. Her calculations have been corrected by Alston (1997) 25-39, who takes unoccupied houses into account as well. On census returns for unoccupied houses see Bagnall and Frier (1994) 58.

[22] Rathbone (1990) 120, multiplies his generous guess of 7000 houses by 6, his generous estimate of the average number of people per household, but this ignores the fact that more than one household occupied an average house, as Hobson (1985) has shown. The census documents from Roman Egypt suggest that there were on average 5 people per household.

[23] Alston and Alston (1997) 203-204, calculate that the chances of having another house as a neighbor were even higher in the metropoleis than in the villages. The Egyptian megalopolis Alexandria, which is commonly believed to have housed about 500,000 people in the Roman period, had 47,790 houses (in addition to a number of other structures) sometime before the fourth century according to a Syriac source. See Fraser (1951) 103-108, for this and Delia (1988) 275-292, for the growing consensus on an Alexandrian population of 500,000 in the Roman period. This works out as about ten people per house. The definition of what constituted a house in Alexandria may have been different from what prevailed in Philadelpheia and Hermopolis. A comparison with Rome, which had 48,392 *domus* in the fourth century (see Fraser, *op. cit.* 107), is even more difficult because a *domus* was not the same as a house in Roman Egypt.

fourth-century Hermopolis recently proposed by Bowman.[24] A high population figure for Hermopolis itself implies a high population figure for the Hermopolite nome as a whole, because the urbanization level cannot have been very high.[25] A high population figure for the Hermopolite nome also implies a high population figure for Egypt as a whole.[26] Further implications need not be spelled out here.

Is there a way to check whether the total number of residential houses in Hermopolis was about 6500 during the reign of Gallienus? The answer to this question depends on the correct identification of the function of the "money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas." We have seen that this was a municipal tax levied *ad hoc* for a specific purpose. Which purpose? The amount of money involved, about 65 talents for about 6500 houses at 60 drachmas each, is a very large sum. The only expenditure that could account for the whole sum would be a building project. As a matter of fact, for the reign of Gallienus we happen to know of a building project in Hermopolis that cost just a little over 65 talents. I think it highly likely that there was a direct link between the special levy of about 65 talents on the population of Hermopolis attested in *SPP* V 101 and the repair plan that has survived as part of the archive of the city council (*SPP* V 127 verso = *SB* X 10299, after the reedition by Schmitz).[27]

The repair plan[28] was drawn up on the back of a discarded tax list from Hermopolis (*SPP* V 127 recto = *SPP* XX 68 recto)[29] by Aurelius

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[24] Bowman (1985) 139. An estimate for the earlier period appears in Bowman (1986) 141 (30,000).

[25] Certainly not a third, as implied by Bagnall and Frier (1994) 56.

[26] A low figure for the population of Roman Egypt has recently been proposed by Rathbone (1990). The extremely low figure he uses for one village (Karanis) cannot be right. It was calculated on the basis of papyri for which the context was unknown. For at least one set of papyri the context is now known and it shows that they do not apply to the entire village as earlier assumed. See Van Minnen (1994) 244-246, especially note 95. Rathbone's extremely low figure for the population of Karanis in the second century before the plague under Marcus Aurelius, 3600, could be housed in just over 500 houses. The University of Michigan excavations uncovered that many second-century houses in just a small part of the site.

[27] Schmitz (1934) 419-428. Drew-Bear merely reproduces his text from *SB* X 10299. See now also Bailey (1991) 56-59, who adds some details.

[28] The cost estimate is called σύνοψις in the Greek text (line 167 in the reedition *SB* X 10299). Another Egyptian attestation of the word σύνοψις with the meaning "cost estimate" in the context of a construction project has been curiously misunderstood by successive editors. In a late inscription recording the repair of a hostel, Bernand (1989), no. 196, the phrase ἄνευ δημοσίας συνόψεως occurs in line

Appianus alias Demetrios, who was one of the athletes who received a pension from the municipal funds of Hermopolis.[30] It is dated to May 11, 264 and details repairs and reconstructions along the central east-west axis of Hermopolis. In his recapitulation from line 169 onwards (in the reedition *SB* X 10299) Aurelius Appianus alias Demetrios specifies the projected costs per section between the Sun gate and the Moon gate. For each section a different *epimeletes* or "(councillor) in charge" is responsible. I here list the twelve sections with the projected cost for the repair of the porticoes alone. As in the Greek text the order is from east to west.

1	Sun gate to First Tetrastylon	4 talents
2	First Tetrastylon to Arch	?
3-8	(lost)	?
9	? to Pylon of Aphrodisieion	3+ talents
10	Pylon of Aphrodisieion to Tychaion	3 talents
11	West of Great Tetrastylon to Tetrastylon of Athena	6 2/3 talents
12	Tetrastylon of Athena to Moon gate	7 2/3 talents

The additional costs for the repair of public buildings on the east-west axis of Hermopolis are as follows. Again the order is from east to west.

? (with its portico)	?
(lost)	?
Antinoeion	4 talents
Hadrianeion (with its west portico), Macellum (with its portico) and the portico of the Agora	6 1/2 talents
Serapieion and Neilaion	1 1/3 talents
Komasterion	1 1/2 talents
West and East Nymphaion	1 1/2 talents
Tychaion (in section 10)	1 2/3 talents
River transport of building materials	3 talents

14 of the "recto." This phrase goes with the main verbs in the text, the one for repairing and the one for building the hostel in lines 10-11. Apparently the people who put up the inscription took pride in having restored the hostel "without a public estimate" of the costs involved. Indeed they have literally lent a helping hand and done the job themselves (cf. παντὸς τοῦ ὄχλου συνυπουργοῦντος in lines 9-10), so that they did not have to hire a contractor. The recent reedition of this text, Gascou (1994) 327, again tries to connect the phrase with the immediately preceding participle, "the passers-by" (τῶν παρερχομένων), but this makes no sense.

[29] Wessely (1921), no. 68.

[30] In the latter capacity he appears in *SPP* V 76 II of 267.

The total amount of expenses projected by Aurelius Appianus alias Demetrios in line 167 of the text is 65 talents, 4037 drachmas and 2 obols. In lines 168-169 an additional entry for iron, glue and wood is given. Apparently these items are to be supplied free of charge: they are not included in the total amount of expenses in money.

What explains the need for these extensive repairs in the center of Hermopolis? Here I can be brief. Drew-Bear has recently suggested[31] that the revolt against Gallienus under Mussius Aemilianus, the prefect of Egypt who initially supported Macrinus and Quietus in the years 259-261 and then himself after their demise,[32] caused the extensive damages in Hermopolis that needed to be repaired. There is indeed some contemporary evidence that structures in Hermopolis had been demolished by human hand. One text from November 10, 266 (*SPP* V 119 recto IV) casually states that a public building lot along the central axis, which is up for sale, had been destroyed during riots (τάραχοι).[33] This loaded term has to refer to major disturbances as it does in other texts from Roman Egypt (e.g. the Jewish revolt in the early second century or the riots in Alexandria during Caracalla's visit).[34]

This is an attractive scenario. If the damage was indeed caused by heavy fighting between the supporters of Mussius Aemilianus and those of Gallienus,[35] there is no need for surprise about the extent of the repairs projected in the repair plan. Scholars who have paid serious attention to the repair plan and a number of other documents from the archive of the city council of Hermopolis have always been surprised by the construction fever going through Hermopolis at a time when a grave crisis is supposed to have affected the cities of the Roman empire.[36] We are now in a position to conclude that there is no

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31 Drew-Bear (1997) 237-243.

32 Cf. Schwartz (1948) 34-46.

33 Wessely's reading τα[ρά]χοις in line 16 has been confirmed by Drew-Bear.

34 On the latter see now Buraselis (1995) 166-188.

35 As in Alexandria. The observation of Wilcken (1912), vol. 1.2, 58, on "der Kontrast zwischen dem Stilleben dieser devoten Provinzialphilister [the city council of Hermopolis under Gallienus] und dem leidenschaftlichen Trubel im ewig frondierenden Alexandrien" now appears in a different light: these "devote Provinzialphilister" also had their share of political unrest.

36 See the discussion in Lukaszewicz (1986) 140-145. In his concluding remarks Méautis (1918) 195-196, contrasted the carelessness of the councillors of Hermopolis in undertaking costly construction projects with the "Univers en flammes" around

contrast between the construction fever and the crisis. Hermopolis was affected like so many other cities (e.g. Alexandria) by the political crisis affecting the Roman empire during the reign of Gallienus, and its center suffered severe damages as a consequence. These damages had to be repaired at great cost.

Who paid for the damages? If the "money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas" in *SPP* V 101 was indeed levied to defray the cost of the repairs, as I have suggested, it was the houseowning urban population of Hermopolis who paid for the damages. The pain was spread throughout the urban population without criminalizing a particular group. No contribution could be squeezed from the dirt poor who did not own a house, but all houseowners had to pay 60 drachmas, still a large sum in the 260s. It is possible that the city council had disapproved of the riots and had ardently supported Gallienus—at least after his party had suppressed the usurpers. They may have liked to punish the population through a house tax, but as houseowners the councillors themselves were not exempted, thus sharing in the responsibility for the riots. Afterwards they go to great length to give the impression that they support Gallienus after the fact by showing the right colors when they put (imperial) porphyry plates in the gymnasium—at a total cost of over 15 talents (*SPP* V 94 A-B and 86 of 266/7). They also rebuilt the entrance to this building (*SPP* V 83 II of 266). The gymnasium was not included in the repair plan, because it was not on the east-west axis. The money expended on it may have been produced from ordinary municipal funds or from the pockets of the elite. The mess in the city center was another matter.

Levying a special tax for public construction was not allowed under Roman rule without the emperor's permission, because it could jeopardize the levying of state taxes.[37] This permission and also the permission to buy porphyry plates for the gymnasium from the imperial quarries the council of Hermopolis no doubt got through the good offices of their fellow-townsman Aurelius Ploution, a repre-

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them. It now appears that the contrast is only apparent: Hermopolis had experienced its own little "univers en flammes" and therefore had to undertake costly repairs.

[37] See Lukaszewicz (1986) 89-90. In the metropoleis of Roman Egypt the state levied capitation taxes. The municipal tax in *SPP* V 101 is strictly speaking not a capitation tax, but it would nevertheless compete with the state for the little money most of the inhabitants had available.

sentative of Gallienus, who acted as imperial procurator, or supervisor of municipal finances, in 266-268 and who was a personal friend of the emperor. It must have been very expedient for the council to be able to devolve the responsibility for an impopular tax on the emperor and his representative.

Why were the repairs not paid for out of the municipal funds available to the city council? These funds were supplied by large donations made by benefactors, by the standard fees paid by new councillors and magistrates, by the income from municipal properties and by a number of indirect urban taxes on markets etc. The archive of the city council of Hermopolis contains a number of texts relating to the expenditures the city council had to meet. There were the usual repairs of and supplies for public buildings, but also the quite substantial pensions to the many athletes the city could literally boast. Menander Rhetor uses Hermopolis as an example of a city one would praise for its athletes.[38] From a recent checklist of athletes from Roman Egypt one gets the impression that two out of every three athletes came from Hermopolis.[39] The athletes who were victorious in "sacred" games in other cities in Roman Egypt, in Alexandria or abroad could count on receiving a pension from the municipal funds.[40] In the 260s these pensions stood at 180 or 200 drachmas a month. Some victorious athletes even received two such pensions. From the archive of the city council of Hermopolis it can be calculated that this cost the city about 7.5 talents in February and March of 268 alone. This figure is incomplete, because it covers only payments for which the documentation is actually preserved. Nevertheless, this is about the same period in which the city council had to scramble for money to pay for the repairs needed in the city center. Apparently it could not defray the cost of these repairs from its regular funds, which were already heavily taxed by the ongoing payments of pensions to the athletes (themselves often members of the city council). It could not

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[38] See Drew-Bear (1981) 33, note 49. In the recent edition of Menander Rhetor by Reynolds and Winterbottom the reference to Hermopolis has been conjectured away for no good reason.

[39] Perpillou-Thomas (1995) 230: 87 out of 131 known cases.

[40] See provisionally Drew-Bear (1988b) 229-235.

afford to forego on the pensions of these athletes, because they were the main source of international prestige for the city.[41]

Why were the costs of repairing the city center not paid for by the concerted efforts of the wealthiest citizens of Hermopolis? Surely they could have provided large sums out of their own pockets. Elsewhere in the Roman empire the evidence for such wealthy benefactors is overwhelming. A multitude of inscriptions has been recovered attesting euergetism all through the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, especially with regard to the private funding of construction projects.[42] As a matter of fact we know that the magistrates of Hermopolis in the very period under discussion were either unable or not willing to meet their obligations. A series of reports by the man in charge of the oil supply of the gymnasium (*SPP* V 57-64) makes clear that a number of gymnasiarchs, the wealthiest magistrates in other words, were defaulting on their deliveries of oil. By this time the responsibility for supplying oil was shared among multiple gymnasiarchs. One day one gymnasiarch had to supply the oil, another day another and so on. It is possible that the system itself confused the gymnasiarchs, who would have to know exactly on which days they had to provide oil to the gymnasium, but there can be no doubt that some of them were unable or not willing to come up with the oil, because they defaulted more than once. I think we may safely assume that the magistrates in Hermopolis would not have been willing or able to fork out multiple talents for the repair of the city center either.

There is in fact surpisingly little evidence from Roman Egypt for the kind of euergetism we meet in inscriptions from the rest of the Roman empire.[43] No doubt one reason for this is that the city centers in Egypt have yielded very few inscriptions. The continuous occupation of most of the ancient sites all through the medieval and

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[41] Thus they were hardly "les inutilités qu'étaient, à ce moment-là pour elle, les athlètes," as Méautis (1918) 155, characterizes them.

[42] See, e.g., Duncan-Jones (1990) 174-184, and Wesch-Klein (1990) for Roman North Africa.

[43] Veyne (1976) occasionally draws on evidence from Roman Egypt. The brief discussion in Bonneau (1985) 239-240, includes the repair plan among the very few and often highly dubious cases of euergetism found in papyri from Roman Egypt. As if the man who drew up the cost estimate also paid for the repairs out of his own pocket!

modern periods has effectively obliterated the evidence that might have been available in the form of inscriptions on the public buildings paid for by rich donors. It is therefore important to look at the few pieces of evidence we still have.[44] Inscriptions commemorating the donations of private citizens are extremely scarce.[45] There is the occasional shrine donated by an obviously wealthy patron, such as Parthenios in Koptos.[46] Occasionally a papyrus dealing with the funds needed for the construction or repair of public buildings explicitly mentions the source of the money.[47] From Hermopolis comes *P.Amh.* II 64 of 107, in which the prefect of Egypt, Vibius Maximus, reallocates some funds to pay for the repair of a bath-house and the colonnaded street in front of it. From one fund, identified as that of Theon, come fifty talents. Perhaps this money had been confiscated from him. From another fund, identified as that of the female gymnasiarch, come twenty talents. Since women are not attested as magistrates-in-office in Roman Egypt,[48] the woman concerned must have donated a lump sum as "eternal" gymnasiarch. The proceeds from this money would pay for the costs of the gymnasiarchy, mainly the supply of oil to the gymnasium. Clearly the authority of the prefect was needed to reallocate this money to the repair of the bath-house.

Although the female gymnasiarch did not herself designate the money she donated for the repair of the bath-house, the donation itself constituted a clear act of euergetism on her part. Other "eternal" gymnasiarchs are on record as well and may also be classified as benefactors. Two texts from Oxyrhynchus illustrate the way in which gymnasiarchs were honored as benefactors by the community. *P.Oxy.* III 473 from the reign of Antoninus Pius honors a gymnasiarch for supplying oil to the gymnasium in abundant measure. *P.Oxy.* VII 1015, a poem from the third century, honors a young gymnasiarch named Theon for extending the supply of oil also to boys. In the

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[44] I have done this at greater length in Van Minnen (2000).

[45] Some of these can be located with the help of É. Bernand (1984).

[46] The Greek texts are now in A. Bernand (1984), nos. 58-61. For the dossier, which also includes hieroglyphic inscriptions, see Farid (1988). Parthenios would have been the secular manager of Isis' affairs in Koptos during the reign of the emperor Claudius.

[47] See Lukaszewicz (1986) 97-98.

[48] See most recently Hagedorn (1996).

process the normal supply of oil to the gymnasium is debunked in the following verses:

> ἦτοι μὲν γὰρ κεῖνα καὶ ἀφνειὸς πόροι ἀνήρ,
> πλούτου γὰρ κενεοῖο πέλει κενεαυχέα δῶρα
>
> The others (scil. supplies of oil) a rich man might provide,
> since vainglorious are the gifts of vain riches

This debunking of the ordinary helps to highlight the exceptional merits of the person honored. When honor is given to a benefactor there has to be an exceptional occasion to do so—even when he has in fact done nothing out of the ordinary. In any case, we have seen that the supply of oil to the gymnasium could become a problem even for the wealthiest magistrates. Among the gymnasiarchs reported as having defaulted on their deliveries of oil to the gymnasium in Hermopolis we also find an "eternal" gymnasiarch.

The only "classic instance of euergetism" from Roman Egypt also comes from Oxyrhynchus.[49] *P.Oxy.* IV 705 of 202 contains the request of Aurelius Horion to Septimius Severus and Caracalla for permission to establish two funds. One fund goes to pay for prizes in ephebic games. The other goes to pay for food and other expenses for villagers in the Oxyrhynchite nome who have to perform official tasks. The beneficiaries of the first fund are obviously citizens of Oxyrhynchus. The beneficiaries of the second fund are villagers living in an area where Aurelius Horion and his sons own a lot of land. Aurelius Horion wanted to do something in return for all the good work his tenants had done for him.[50]

Thus the evidence for euergetism in Roman Egypt is meagre at best. Perhaps this is because of the character of our documentation, which consists of very few inscriptions from the center of towns and a lot of papyri detailing the nitty-gritty of day-to-day income and expenditure. The archive of the city council of Hermopolis from the reign of Gallienus does not contain an inkling of the kind of private benefaction on record for other cities in the Roman empire. It shows

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49 The characterization is by Rowlandson (1996) 110.

50 This accords well with the idea that the business relationship between landowners and tenants in Roman Egypt, in the early period at least, was one of equality. See for this Rowlandson (1996) *passim*.

that some members of the elite were unable or not willing to make even very minor contributions to the public cause (such as supplies of oil to the gymnasium), but quite willing to rake in fat pensions from public funds for their athletic victories. It also shows that the burden of paying for the repair of the city center was passed on to the houseowning citizen body through the "money-tax collected at a rate of sixty drachmas" on each and every house that was used for residential purposes. We do not know who paid for the original buildings in the center of Hermopolis, but we do know who paid to repair or replace them in the 260s: the ordinary citizens of Hermopolis who owned a house in town.

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COLLEGIA AND CIVIC GUARDS: TWO CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF SOCIABILITY*

Onno van Nijf

Introduction: sociability and comparative history

> L'homme naît et meurt, mange et boît, se livre à l'amour ou à la bataille, il travaille ou il rêve et - d'une façon tout aussi essentielle que sont ces fonctions majeures - il ne cesse de rencontrer ses semblables, de leur parler, de les approcher ou de les fuir, bref d'entrer en relations avec eux. Tout son comportement est social - ou "sociable" au sens de social - car la façon même d'être sociable ou insociable ... est sociale au sens le plus philosophique. La vie sociale est un immense tissu d'intersubjectivités.

These words were used by Maurice Agulhon in the introduction to a collection of articles on various manifestations of *sociabilité* in France, Germany and Switzerland.[1] Struck by the high density of associations in Provence Agulhon himself had first applied the term to Provençal society in the early modern period. The term proved to be useful beyond Provence, however.[2] Sociability is a good example of what Huizinga described as the "play element in culture": in many societies we find associations or clubs for which commensality and festivity, reinforced by rituals surrounding the consumption of food and drink, were at least as important as their original purpose.[3]

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* I would like to thank Andrew Farrington, Willem Jongman, John Patterson and my late father, M. van Nijf, who have read the text and made many useful suggestions. Any errors are, of course, entirely due to the obstinacy of the author.

1 Agulhon (1986) 18.

2 Agulhon (1977). The various articles in Thélamon (1987) and Aurell et al. (1992) demonstrate the fruitfulness of this concept.

3 Burke (1991) 16. Huizinga (1950); Huizinga (1956) 55-56, for an application to the Dutch Republic.

Sociability appears to be a universal phenomenon whose changing manifestations are beginning to attract the attention of ancient historians.[4] The *collegia* of *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori* were among the most prominent and widespread elements in the structures of Roman sociability during the first three centuries of our era. They were responsible for a substantial volume of inscriptions informing us above all of their funerary activities, and about the patronage relationships in which they were involved.

This epigraphic evidence does not provide us, however, with an unproblematic picture of what was expected of them as social institutions, or of what these *collegia* actually did. Scholars have approached *collegia* often in a narrowly legalistic or antiquarian way, and attention has often focused on systematic descriptions of the formal characteristics of the institution, and on their relationships to the Roman state.[5] There have been remarkably few attempts to sketch a picture of urban life around these *collegia*.[6] The *collegia* of *fabri centonarii* and *dendrophori* have remained elusive organisations. However, if we want to assess what life in the cities of Roman empire may have been like for people below the élite, we have to take this type of private sociability seriously.

In this paper I shall argue that the sociability of the Roman *collegium*-members may be better understood if we compare them with the Dutch civic guards (*schutters*) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose activities have been immortalised by the paintings of Frans Hals, Rembrandt and others.[7]

A comparative method has several advantages. First, comparative evidence allows us to flesh in the data from the Roman period, especially for relatively poorly documented areas such as the life of people below the élite. Second, it widens the scope of the discussion

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[4] Sociability in the context of Greek public banquets is the object of a number of studies by Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, most extensively in Schmitt-Pantel (1992). Private forms of sociability (*symposia* and banquets) are discussed in: D'Arms (1990), Murray (1990), Murray and Tecusan (1995), and Slater (1991) to name but a few.

[5] The fundamental study remains Waltzing (1895-1900). More recent is Ausbüttel (1982). De Robertis (1971) and Cracco-Ruggini (1971) focus on legal aspects and their relations with the Roman state.

[6] Cf. Purcell (1992); notable exceptions are Patterson (1993), Patterson (1994) and Purcell (1994). I discuss the situation in the Roman East in Van Nijf (1997).

[7] See Carasso-Kok and Levy-van Halm (1988) and Knevel (1994).

and may suggest possible avenues of interpretation. As Burke writes in the introduction to the Dutch edition of his *Venice and Amsterdam*, a historian with an interest in a particular society may use comparisons and contrasts with other parts of the world to identify the presence, or absence, of significant characteristics of that society, which otherwise might have been overlooked easily.[8] Finally, in a period of specialisation it is useful to cross boundaries between disciplines, and, in this case, benefit from new aproaches in medieval and early modern cultural history. However, we should keep an open mind for differences as much as for similarities if we are going to make fruitful use of this comparative evidence: for all their similarities, Roman *collegia* were not militia guilds. We should not simply project the better known early modern situation onto the classical period and lose sight of the specificity of each case, or we risk limiting rather than enlarging our understanding.

We should tread warily, then. In the following pages I shall use the comparative method to highlight some aspects of the sociability of Roman *collegiati* and Dutch guardsmen. I shall argue that membership of a *collegium* or of the civic guard provided men of middling wealth and status with a focus for their sociability and civic self-definition. *Collegia* and civic guards were instrumental in their integration into an increasingly hierarchical society.

Plebs media *and 'middle classes'*

Who were the 'rather thin men' (*homines tenuiores*) who populated the ancient collegia?[9] Since Mommsen established *collegia* as a subject of serious historical investigation, scholars have suggested that they catered for poorer inhabitants of Roman cities.[10] It is commonly asserted that *collegia* were organisations designed for lower class self-help, whose primary business it was to provide a decent funeral to people who were too poor to afford their own tombs. This view is no longer tenable. It has been demonstrated that funerary activities were

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[8] Burke (1991) 7.

[9] The term *homines tenuiores* was used by Roman legislators to indicate the membership of collegia.

[10] They have been described as a 'refuge for orphans and paupers'; cf. Ausbüttel (1982) 84 who discusses the earlier literature.

only one concern among many others for the collegia.[11] Moreover, these funerary activities were not a last resort for urban paupers, but rather symptomatic of the social ambitions of individuals of a certain standing in society.

Like other *collegia*, the associations of *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori* recruited their members mainly from among the upper levels of the urban plebs: craftsmen and traders of at least moderate wealth. The mere fact that these men could afford membership of a *collegium* is in itself sufficient indication that we are dealing with a relatively well-off segment of the population: the privilege of membership had to be bought for a hefty fee.[12] Additional contributions were often required, particularly from *collegium*-officials, and the need to invest time and effort must have served as a further selection mechanism.

Socially these men were overwhelmingly of servile descent - a recent study by Royden of the magistrates of Italian *collegia* of *fabri, centonarii* and *dendrophori* has confirmed that the great majority was either freed or first generation freeborn.[13] There is less information on the status of the ordinary members of the *collegia*, but the fact that there are very few slaves on record as members suggest that these were in general associations of freed employers, rather than of un-free employees.[14] Individual social mobility seems not to have been uncommon. Some of these freedmen were wealthy enough to aspire to minor public offices (there are some *apparitores* on record),[15] while

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[11] For the view that they were mainly burial clubs: Hopkins (1983). For the multi-faceted character of the ancient '*fenomeno associativo*' see Flambard (1987) 210; Ausbüttel (1982) 59-71, discusses their funerary activities, on pp. 22-29 he criticises the notion of special *collegia funeraticia*. Patterson (1993) provides a good discussion of the situation in Rome and the cities of Italy; Cf. Purcell (1987). I have discussed the funerary activities of *collegia* in the Roman East at length in Van Nijf (1997), Ch. 1.

[12] Pearse (1974) 123. E.g. *CIL* XIV, 2112, the initation fee was HS 100 and a bottle of good wine; further monthly contributions were expected. Other examples are listed in Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 626 sqq.

[13] Royden (1988). On Royden's reckoning two-thirds of the magistrates were freedmen, one-third were first generation free born. It has been pointed out that the urban populations of ancient Italy will have been overwhelmingly of servile descent as well. Purcell (1992) 179, and Purcell (1994).

[14] Pearse (1974) 129.

[15] E.g. *CIL* VI, 1892, a funerary inscription for Marcus Sutorius Pamphilus, who was not only *lictor curialis, viator and apparitor*, but also *decurio conlegi fabrum ferrarium*. For *apparitores*, see: Purcell (1983).

others served as *Sevir* or *Augustalis*, often the pinnacle of a freedman's career.[16] Some *collegium* magistrates record that their sons had achieved higher status (as councillor, or even as *eques Romanus*).[17] In a few cases they had themselves risen to the rank of *decurio*.[18] The boundary that separated the urban élites from the better elements of the plebs was apparently permeable. Downward social mobility also occurred: a famous inscription from Solva shows that members of the *collegia* could claim immunity from certain *munera*.[19] It was apparently not uncommon that councillors tried to dodge their costly obligations by joining the *centonarii*. Yet, they would hardly have chosen this option if the *centonarii* had not been an organisation of considerable standing in the community. In normal situations, however, members of the urban élite maintained connections with the *collegia* through patronage relationships.[20]

The *collegia* thus seem to have covered a broad band of society. At the highest level we find individuals who were merging with the ruling order of *decuriones*, but most *collegiati* appear to have been men of more moderate means. They occupied the social position for which the Romans used the term *plebs media*.[21] These men of middling wealth and status did not constitute a 'middle class' of capitalists and entrepreneurs in a modern, that is 19th century, sense. Ancient historians such as Finley and MacMullen were right to protest against modernist tendencies to analyse ancient society in terms derived from the study of modern capitalist economies.[22] However, recent studies of the urban middle classes in pre-industrial Europe are increasingly sceptical about their role as economic modernisers, and it would seem that in this respect the differences between antiquity and other pre-industrial periods have been exaggerated: the early modern bourgeois may have had more in common with his Roman pre-

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[16] E.g. *CIL* XIV 296, 297. For *Augustales*, see: Abramenko (1993); Ostrow (1990).

[17] *CIL* XIV, 4642.

[18] *CIL* XIV, 314 and 374.

[19] *AE* 1919, 60-70 = *FIRA* I, no. 87. A new edition in: Weber (1969). For comments and references to earlier literature Jacques (1984) 639-646.

[20] Clemente (1972) and Patterson (1993).

[21] Veyne (1991) and Purcell (1994).

[22] Finley (1985) and MacMullen (1974).

decessor, than with his twentieth-century descendant.[23] What can be achieved by a careful application of such concepts to ancient society has been demonstrated by some recent studies. Investigations into the civic world of the Hellenistic city, or into the '*bourgeoisies*' in Roman Italy have begun to put the social categories in the middle on the historical map, but much remains to be done.[24]

Despite obvious differences (most strikingly the absence of a servile element in the urban population) there seems to be scope for a comparison of Roman *collegia* with the civic guards in the cities of the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[25] Recent discussions of these organisations have shown that they occupied a social level that was not altogether different from that occupied by the Roman *collegia.* The ordinances of civic guards specify that the members had to be "honest and qualified citizens".[26] This referred in social terms to a rather large group. The higher ranks of the guards, the officers, were contiguous, and often overlapping, with the ruling patriciate. The non-commissioned officers and the rank and file, however, came from the respectable craftsmen and traders of the cities. The records of the civic guard of the city of Leiden for example show that in the years 1578 and 1617 the great majority of the guardsmen worked in trade and industries, and among their number various types of builders, food producers (bakers and butchers) and textile workers seem to have predominated. Records of other Dutch cities confirm the general middle class origin of the civic guardsmen.[27] Wage labourers, and the urban poor were generally excluded from membership. Stringent criteria also applied to existing members: when a guardsman fell below a certain level of income, he was formally discharged from the guard, with the inevitable loss of status that this entailed.[28]

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23 Holton (1986) 11, describes this as "an ex post facto folk myth of the modern western bourgeoisie and its urbanist intellectuals".

24 Cf. Wörrle and Zanker (1995) for the Hellenistic period. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1983) discusses the situation in Italy.

25 The phenomenon of the citizen-militia was not unique for the Republic: In France we find the '*milice-bourgeoise*', and in London the 'trained bands' who showed a similar combination of public utility and private sociability. See: Allen (1972); Descimon (1987); Descimon (1993).

26 "Eerlijke en gekwalificeerde personen". Cf. Knevel (1994) 200.

27 Knevel (1994) 200-203; Israel (1996)129.

28 Knevel (1994) 165-167; 201.

Roman *collegia* do not seem to have operated formally on wealth criteria, but despite such differences, it would seem that there are sufficient similarities between guardsmen and *collegiati* for a comparison that may help us to put some important characteristics of these two manifestations of sociability into relief.

Collegia *as professional clubs*

One major point of difference between *collegia* and civic guards, of course, would seem to be the fact that the former appear to have operated as professional organisations, whereas the latter represented a cross-section of the working population in the cities. I would like to argue, however, that the differences in this respect may have been exaggerated.

The names of the *collegia* of *fabri* and *centonarii* suggest indeed that a shared occupation was at the core of their self identification. They have been interpreted as working in the building and textile trade respectively. Some scholars have argued that the *dendrophori* also had a commercial background, as they seem to have been connected with the wood trade. The professional identity of these *collegia*, however, is problematic.

In the Principate, *collegium*-membership was not obligatory for the practitioners of any trade, although it has been argued that informal pressure would have made it impossible for a craftsman to remain outside the *collegium*.[29] Most scholars agree that Roman *collegia* did not operate as medieval craft guilds: they did not serve as "regulatory or protective agencies in their respective trades".[30] This appears certainly to be true in the case of the *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori*: among the more than 560 inscriptions that record their activities, there is not a single one that makes a clear reference to the economic activities of these groups.[31] We shall see that these associations were not purely occupational associations.[32]

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[29] Pavis D'Escurac (1990) 117-118; in similar vein MacMullen (1974) 70 sqq. There is, however, no evidence to support this view.

[30] The quotation is from Finley (1985) 138.

[31] There are about 2,000 inscriptions referring to collegia in the West, of which 562 mention *fabri*, *centonarii* or *dendrophori*. For these figures Ausbüttel (1982) 31,

The professional identification of the *dendrophori* is the least secure. A recent study suggests that they may have been lumberjacks, wood merchants or wood transporters, but it is admitted that there cannot be a certain answer.[33] There is an obscure reference in Symmachus suggesting that the *dendrophori* were involved in the transport of wood as fuel for the Roman baths, but this text is late and may not be relevant to the early history of this association.[34] At any rate, it is not clear that it refers to a professional activity. The name itself suggests another interpretation. The Gre roots of the word invoke a cultic context: various cult associations such as *chrysophoroi*, *eikonophoroi* are known, which carried cult objects in religious processions. It seems likely, therefore, that the *dendrophori* derived their name from their activity as 'tree carriers' in the public cult of Magna Mater.[35] An occupation in the wood trade may have rendered these men suitable for the job, but this cannot be more than speculation.

The identity of the *centonarii* is also unclear. The title, formed as many occupational terms ending in *-arius*,[36] is derived from the Latin word *cento* which seems to have been a kind of "quilt, blanket or curtain made of old garments stitched together."[37] The *centonarii* have been interpreted as producers of or traders in such textiles, but also as ragmen, or as dealers in second hand clothes for slaves.[38] An alternative interpretation holds that the name refers to fire fighting activities, for which the Romans apparently used rough cloths soaked in vinegar.[39] These two functions need not have been mutually ex-

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and Salamito (1990) 997. A convenient collection of inscriptions referring to collegia, unfortunately out of date by now, can be found in Waltzing (1895-1900), volume III.

[32] There is evidence that associations with a more narrowly defined occupational character did protect their economic interests: a good example is *P.Mich.* 245 which is an ordinance of salt dealers in Tebtynis. For a brief discussion of the economic activities of *collegia* in the Roman East, see Van Nijf (1997), Introduction.

[33] Salamito (1987) 992.

[34] Symmachus *Relationes*, 14.3 seems to refer to *dendrophori*, *fabri* and *centonarii* in his description of the collegia of the city: "*pars urenda lavacris ligna comportat, sunt qui fabriles manus augustis operis adcommodent, per alios fortuita arcentur incendia.*" For this interpretation: Hirschfeld (1884) 249.

[35] See below n. 93

[36] See Treggiari (1980) for a list.

[37] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. '*cento*'.

[38] For the latter suggestion see Kloft (1994) 127.

[39] See below.

clusive,[40] but it should be noted that there is, again, no evidence to prove that the *centonarii* were actively involved in production or commerce of *centones*.[41] Moreover, the large size of some *collegia* of *centonarii* is in itself an argument against a professional identification. One inscription mentions that there were at one stage 93 *centonarii* in the small town of Solva.[42] It is not easy to see how they could all have been involved in the second-hand cloth trade. The inscriptions set up by individual *centonarii* do not make reference to their professional activity either, instead they seem to have used the term as a distinctive title, much like an Augustalis or a *decurio* would use his. It has been argued that the only description of a named *centonarius* in Latin literature, the upwardly mobile freedman Echion in Petronius' *Satyricon*, uses the term in this way.[43] Recent studies are undoubtedly right, therefore, to reject the notion that *centonarii* were active in a professional capacity.[44]

There is a higher degree of consensus in the case of the *fabri*.[45] They are often seen as carpenters. However, the terminology appears to have been more inclusive than this. A passage in the *Digest* is often quoted to show that the term *faber tignuarius* was used in a general sense for people in the building trade:[46]

> We call '*fabri tignuarii*' not only those men who work with wood, but all men who build.

Moreover, the word *faber* in combination with other occupational terms was used to indicate a variety of other specialised crafts.[47] The word *faber* appears to have been used as a general term for a craftsman. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the *collegia* of *fabri* included a wider group of craftsmen than just carpenters or builders. This is supported by the size of these *collegia*, which often exceeded that of other associations. *Collegia* of *fabri* were often large enough to

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40 Ausbüttel (1982) 72.

41 *AE* 1988, 504 mentions a *mercator centonum*, who, apparently, was not a member of the local *collegium centonariorum*.

42 *AE* 1919, 60-70; See above n. 18.

43 Petronius *Satyricon* 45; Ausbüttel (1982) 75.

44 Weber (1968) 111; Kneissl (1994) 141-143.

45 Pearse (1974), esp. Ch 5; Kneissl (1994).

46 *Dig.* 50.16.235: *Fabros tignuarios dicimus non eos dumtaxat, qui tigna dolarent, sed omnes qui aedificarent.*

47 For examples sec Pearse (1974); and *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. '*faber.*'

warrant subdivision into *centuriae* and *decuriae*, as were those of *centonarii*. The division into *centuriae* in particular is not very common among other types of *collegium*.[48] Pliny suggested that a *collegium* of *fabri* in Nikomedeia could be limited to about 150 members: were these men all working in the building trade?[49] This is even less likely in the case of the *collegium* of *fabri* in Dacian Sarmizegethusa, the only *collegium* attested for this town, which counted more than 300 members. It would appear that they were to be found among all respectable occupations.[50]

The suggestion that *collegia* of *fabri* and *centonarii* were recruited among a variety of craftsmen finds support in what we know about the membership structure of some of these associations. An analysis of the membership of the *collegium* of the *fabri* in Ostia shows that most gentilician names appear only once or a few times.[51] Pearse has interpreted this as evidence for the small scale of the Ostian building firms, but it seems equally plausible that this situation was caused by the fact that the association counted individuals from different occupations among its members. There is a clear contrast here with the *collegium* of the *lenuncularii* of the same town. Their membership lists show a remarkable clustering of gentilician names, which suggest that most members were freedmen belonging to a small number of large *familiae* which dominated the trade.[52]

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the *collegia* of *fabri*, *centonarii*, and *dendrophori* routinely accepted members of varying occupational backgrounds, despite the concerns of the authorities that outsiders should not be admitted.[53] A related issue is that of membership of more than one *collegium*. Although double membership was prohibited from the mid second century AD, it seems to have been common practice even afterwards. The lists in Waltzing show that in nearly all such cases the *fabri*, *centonarii* or *dendrophori*

[48] Royden: (1988) 13. See the list in Waltzing: (1895-1900) IV, 290 sqq.

[49] Pliny *Ep.Tra.* 10.33; cf also 10.34.

[50] Ardevan (1979).

[51] Pearse (1974) 130-135.

[52] Cf. Herz (1994).

[53] Cf. Pliny *Ep.Tra.* 10.33. The inscription from Solva that we mentioned above (note 18) betrays a similar concern among the authorities .

were involved.[54] The individuals concerned usually draw attention to their membership by the use of such terms as *pertinens ad collegium fabrorum*[55] or *corporatus inter fabros tignuarios*[56] which implies that they derived a sense of pride from membership. Such 'openness' was not usually shared by other associations with a more clearly defined professional background, however, and it suggests that the *collegia* of *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori* were not simply occupational associations. These *collegia* do not seem to have limited themselves to a membership from one profession, but recruited their members among a wider group of successful traders and businessmen.

It would seem, therefore, that the sociability of craftsmen and traders in the Dutch Republic, as well as in the Roman empire, was at least partially channelled through associations that were not narrowly based on one single occupation, but that offered a place to wider segment of the urban 'middle classes.'

Private associations and public order

Social life in Roman cities was characterised by a dense network of structures of sociability. *Collegia* of *fabri*, *centonarii*, or *dendrophori* were active alongside many other associations with a more clearly occupational or religious profile. The associative tendency was widespread among the populations of Roman cities. Among these associations the *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori* appear to have occupied a special position in the urban communities of Italy and the Roman West.

We know that these associations attracted the attention of the authorities. An inscription from Cumae shows that the city authorities vetted the admission of new members.[57] Some *collegia* indicate in their inscriptions that they had been authorised by a *senatus*

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[54] Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 243-251, lists some cases. We find among the other associations professional clubs, as well as the relatively prestigious organisations of *Augustales* or *Seviri*.

[55] *CIL* XIII, 1978.

[56] *CIL* XIII, 2036.

[57] *CIL* X, 3699; cf. Waltzing (1895-1900), I, 247.

consultum.[58] This has often been taken to imply that *all collegia* needed an official permit to operate, but this is unlikely because the majority of *collegia* do not mention this permission. It may be suggested that these 'senatorial charters' had merely a symbolic or honorific function, designed to boost the public image of the *collegium* concerned.

The nomenclature of some *collegia* provides a further indication of their aspirations in this direction.[59] We read, for example about the *splendidissima collegia fabrum et centonariorum* (in Placentia),[60] or an *honestissimum corpus dendrophororum* (in Puteoli).[61] These *collegia* aimed to present themselves in a style reminiscent of that used by the local orders of councillors. It should be noted that this terminology was not only adopted by the *collegia* in their own inscriptions, but also by their patrons and civic benefactors, which shows that these attempts at '*ordo* making' by associations were recognised by their social superiors. The relatively prominent position of the *collegia* of *fabri*, *centonarii* or *dendrophori* is also evident from the frequency with which (public) inscriptions refer to them as the *collegia principalia*, the *III collegia splendissima* and so on.[62] In some cases the name of the city was part of the official title of the *collegium*: we read about the *fabri tignarii Luguduneses*, or about the *collegia centonariorum et dendrophorum Aquileiensium* to name but a few.[63]

It seems obvious that the *collegia* of *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori* were concerned to present themselves as semi-official institutions with close links to the urban communities in which they were active and with the authorities at home and in Rome. This 'special relationship' will have lifted the *collegiati* above the common man, and even above the members of less prominent *collegia*. This relatively high standing of *centonarii*, *fabri*, and *dendrophori* in the

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[58] *CIL* XIV, 256; Other examples (mainly *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori*) may be found in Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 546-558.

[59] Pavis d'Escurac (1990).

[60] *CIL* XI, 1230.

[61] *CIL* X, 1786. Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 574-575, has a list.

[62] Ausbüttel (1982) 75-76. Cf. Waltzing (1895-1900), II, 201 sqq., and Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 50 sqq., for more examples.

[63] Pavis d'Escurac (1990) 113. She interprets this as an indication of a trading area.

cities has often been attributed to their public utility as a voluntary fire brigade. The evidence for this activity is limited, however. It is at this point that comparative evidence for the activities of the Dutch civic guards may help us to fill in the picture.

The identification of the *fabri* as a voluntary fire brigade has been accepted since the sixteenth century, when Gothofredus proposed this on the basis of legal sources.[64] The idea that *centonarii* and *dendrophori* were also involved in fire fighting has been widespread since the nineteenth century.[65] If, however, the *collegia* were indeed primarily concerned with fire fighting, this activity has left remarkably few traces in the evidence.

Gothofredus' suggestion went back to a famous exchange of letters between the emperor Trajan and his governor in the province of Bithynia, Pliny the Younger.[66] After a fire had destroyed large parts of the city of Nikomedeia, Pliny suggested to Trajan that he set up a *collegium* of *fabri*, in order to prevent a recurrence of the disaster.[67] Trajan rejected the idea, fearing that these associations might give rise to political unrest. It is implied in Trajan's letter, however, that *fabri* served as fire brigades in some other towns, although there is no city for which this activity has actually been proven.[68] The contribution of the *centonarii*, as we saw above, is often thought to have consisted of their handling of *centones* soaked in vinegar, that were used to extinguish fire.[69] It has been suggested, without much evidence, that they were also responsible for the night-watch in the cities.[70] As for the *dendrophori*, no one has as yet proposed a credible explanation of how they may have contributed to fire fighting. It would appear that their inclusion is merely an epigraphic artefact, resulting from the fact that they often appear as the co-authors of honorific and other inscriptions with the *fabri* and *centonarii*.[71]

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[64] Recent discussions in Ausbüttel (1982) 71-78; Kneissl (1994).
[65] Hirschfeld (1884); Waltzing (1895-1900) 193 sqq.
[66] Pliny *Ep.Tra.* 10, 33 and 34.
[67] It is misleading to translate *fabri* simply as 'firebrigade', as does for example Radice in her translations of these letters.
[68] Cf. Ausbüttel (1982) 72.
[69] Salamito (1990) 164.
[70] Hirschfeld (1884), cf. Schultz-Falkenthal (1973) 25.
[71] Salamito (1990). For their public utility in the context of civic processions see below.

The evidence for the fire fighting activities of the *collegia* is limited, therefore, and there is evidence that these functions were often performed by other formal organisations. We know that Augustus set up *cohortes* of *vigiles* in Rome in 7 BC, and they appear to have been active in other cities as well.[72] They are attested for Ostia, for Puteoli if Petronius' *Satyricon* can be trusted,[73] and for the Spanish town of Irni.[74] In other cases it is likely that self-help of property owners was the preferred option, as it was, on Trajan's advice in Nikomedeia, and in Oxyrhynchus.[75]

The contributions of the *collegia* to fire fighting and maintaining the public order in the cities of the Roman Empire may have been limited in practical terms, their perceived utility was high enough to warrant the rather prominent position that we have identified. In this respect the *collegia* were not dissimilar to the civic guard companies that were active in the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The history of the Dutch civic guards went back to the medieval militia guilds: bands of burghers armed with crossbows and longbows who had become a symbol of civic self-determination since the battle of the Golden Spurrows (1302).[76] During the Dutch Revolt militia guilds made an important contribution to the success of the Protestant side. In this period the old militia guilds were reorganised, stripped of their catholic trappings, and formally integrated into the defence of the Protestant Republic.[77] In some cases, as for example during the Spanish sieges of Alkmaar in 1573 and of Leiden in 1574 they seem to have played an important role in the defence, and in other cities they also gained a reputation as the heroes of the Revolt, where they refused to act against the population or to enforce the collection of the

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[72] Nippel (1995) for the 'new forces of order' in Rome and p. 103-104 for the situtaion outside Rome.

[73] Petronius, *Satyricon*, 79. It is usually thought that Petronius' novel is situated in Puteoli. Note that there was a *centonarius* among Trimalchio's guests, when the *vigiles* burst in, which supports the view that the *centonarii* were not responsible for fire-fighting.

[74] González (1986), c. 19.

[75] *P. Oxy.* 43; cf. Ausbüttel (1982) 77.

[76] For the early history of the militia guilds, Carasso-Kok (1988); Knevel (1994) 17-61.

[77] Knevel (1994) 92-111; Knevel (1988).

tithes imposed by the Duke of Alva.[78] Such heroism was celebrated in civic ceremonials such as the civic parade that was organised in Leiden in 1575. The procession was headed by a civic guard company, in honour of the heroism of the Leiden citizens during the Spanish siege of the previous year.[79] Civic identity was fed by such idealised images of past and present, and the exploits of the civic guards became a favourite subject for local historians and encomiastic poets.[80] Coins were minted and works of art commissioned to commemorate the brave deeds of the armed citizens, never mind that such acts of bravery sometimes had taken place many years before![81] A climate arose in which civic guards could be seen as the embodiment of local heroism, pride and desire for independence: the '*robur et nervi civitatis*' as Hadrianus Junius had described them in his *Batavia* of 1588.

The true contribution of the civic guards to the defence of the cities is easily exaggerated however. In many cases this was limited to the proud display of the arms in parades and shooting competitions where 'popinjays' (shooting targets in the shape of parrots) provided the main targets.[82] The observations of some British visitors to the Republic are probably to the point here. The English merchant Samuel Tucker, who visited Holland in 1672 when the Republic was conducting a war on several fronts, dryly observed that the Dutch civic guards were 'unexperienced and not yet used to warr.' The citizens' insistence on self defence sometimes met with disastrous results. The Duke of Buckingham commented upon the defence of Den Briel:[83]

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[78] Knevel (1994) 62-91; Van Berkel (1995). See also Israel (1996) 161-162; 183; 201-204.

[79] Van Berkel (1995) 185. The city of Leiden received the University as a reward for its success in withsanding the Spaniards.

[80] Knevel (1994) 232 sqq.

[81] The city of Haarlem commissioned in the early seventeent century a painting of the capture of the city of Damiate in the thirteenth century, because the city's ships were reputed to have taken part in the conquest. The painting was proudly displayed in the Calivermen's Hall. The siege of Alkmaar of 1573 was the subject of two paintings of 1598 that were displayed in the militia halls of the city. Knevel (1994) 234.

[82] Burke (1991) 53-54; Schama (1987) 187 sqq. Cf. Nijsten (1994) 51-52, and 96-99, for the situation at the end of the Middle Ages.

[83] Quoted in Knevel (1994) 236.

> I believe that I might have taken that towne myselfe. There are noe soldiers there at all, for the townes men will not let them come in, who are themselves in armes, and very drunck with drinking the King of England and the Prince of Orange's health.

Most cities seem to have opted for hiring professional soldiers, anyway. It would seem that the civic guards approached with a similar lack of zeal and discipline their other duties, namely guarding the town during the night, preventing disturbances, quelling riots, and assisting in cases of fire. Complaints about their lack of training, or the miserable state of their weapons were legion. Officers frequently did not bother to show up during the patrols, and drunkenness, hooliganism, and internal fights appear to have been fairly common. The city authorities could not always rely on the militia in times of civic unrest, as there was a risk that the militiamen would side with the populace against the patricians.[84] This lack of enthusiasm was not only typical for the urban middle classes in Holland: the contemporary 'trained bands' of London, or the '*milices bourgeoises*' in French cities were subject to similar criticisms.[85]

Civic ceremonial

Despite this lack of real-life heroism, the members of the civic guards, and more in particular the officers, seem to have regarded themselves as the protectors of the cities, and they were keen to project this image to the rest of the community as well. Several times a year Dutch militia men would have an opportunity to impress their compatriots with their military skills. The most spectacular occasion may have been the *optrek* (parade or muster) which in many cities took place during the annual fair.[86]

In Leiden the fair and the parade took place during Pentecost. The civic guard companies assembled near the *Doelens* (the drill halls).

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[84] Knevel (1994) 238 sqq. In 1617 the city of Leiden hired professional soldiers and had the city centre barricaded because the civic guards could no longer be trusted. Israel (1996) 488.

[85] For the 'trained bands' see Allen (1972), esp. 295 sqq. Their main military exploit between 1678 and 1681 appears to have been the close supervision of bonfires and pope-burnings (ibid. 301). For the Parisian militia see Descimon (1987) 601; cf. Descimon (1993).

[86] Knevel (1994) 271-281.

The men were inspected by their officers and by members of the city council, after which the civic guard companies, accompanied by rented bands of drummers and pipers, marched through town along a fixed route set by tradition. The parades were carefully orchestrated public spectacles. The order in which the various companies marched though town was decided by the councils who tried to exercise tight control over the event. At the end of the day the guardsmen were treated to beer by the city authorities, although it would appear that many guardsmen started drinking much earlier, and drunken guardsmen were a common problem. It was, therefore, probably a good idea on the part of the authorities that they prohibited the handling of live ammunition on such occasions.

There were other occasions as well: the civic guards were also expected to escort the Stadholders or visiting foreign dignitaries during their ceremonial entries into the cities.[87] These parades and ceremonies did not only provide the guardsmen with opportunities to raise their own profile, but they were important civic events as well. On such occasions the armed guardsmen symbolised the citizen-body as a whole. The parades were expected to boost local patriotism, and they helped to project the city's self-image as a strong and independent community upon the outside world also. It is not surprising, then, that the authorities were prepared to give subsidies for new liveries and sashes for the men, or for more impressive banners and flags. The authorities also commissioned occasional verses from poets such as Joost van den Vondel,[88] or asked scholars such as Barlaeus to write learned pamphlets in Latin for the occasion.[89] The guards were also depicted in the prints and paintings that were made by local artists. The ceremonial role of the civic guards was sometimes at least as important as their contribution to the maintenance of law and order. Even in the eighteenth century, when

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[87] Knevel (1994) 281-290. Soly (1984) discusses the earlier traditions.

[88] The city of Amsterdam commisioned poems from Vondel in 1642 and from J. Six van Chandelier in 1647, see Knevel (1994) 282. The genre is discussed in Smits-Veldt (1993).

[89] Knevel (1994) 285.

the military role of the guards had all but disappeared, their parades could still attract the admiration of foreign visitors such as Boswell.[90]

The Roman *collegia* too appear to have played a role in the civic rituals of the time, but their contribution is somewhat harder to gauge. Roman civic ceremonies were generally characterised by a relentless insistence on rank and difference, presenting an image of society as a hierarchy of status groups. *Collegia* appear to have been part of this hierarchical set up: the *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori* were frequently singled out during public banquets and distributions in Roman cities.[91] In some cities we find professional *collegia* with reserved seats in theatres and stadions.[92] Such events helped to establish *collegia* as respectable status groups alongside established groups such as the *ordo* of decurions, or the *Augustales*. I have argued elsewhere that this process of '*ordo* making' may have been one of the driving forces behind the associative tendency in the Roman world.[93]

Public processions provided the *collegia* with another opportunity to establish their position in the cities.[94] This was most evidently so in the case of the *dendrophori*, whose raison d'être was the carrying of trees—*dendrophoria*—in the public ceremonies connected with the cult of Magna Mater, or Cybele. This cult had been introduced into Rome in 205 BC. and had merged with the Roman festival of the Mega-lesia.[95] A central ceremony in the cult was the festival of *Arbor Intrat*. John Lydus informs us that the job of cutting the tree in a sacred grove and of carrying it to the public temple of the goddess on the Capitol had been left to *dendrophori* since the reign of the emperor Claudius.[96] It should be noted that there is no evidence for the

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[90] Boswell comments twice on the parade of the guardsmen of The Hague: Pottle (1956) 104: "Saturday 24 December [1763]: Yesterday was a great day . . . Reynst . . . carried you to the Parade, where you saw the Dutch Guards, and was animated a little with old ideas". Cf. ibid. 233.

[91] The most important studies are Andreau (1977) and Duncan-Jones (1982). The data are presented in Mrozek (1984) and Mrozek (1987).

[92] Ardevan (1979) 328, mentions reserved seats for the *fabri* in the amphitheatre of Sarmizegethusa. See also Roueché (1993).

[93] Van Nijf (1997), passim.

[94] Civic processions are discussed in Price (1984) 107-114, 188-191; Rogers (1991) and MacCormack (1981).

[95] Vermaseren (1977) 96-125, and Fishwick (1966).

[96] Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus* 4.59 (41) ed. Wünsch, p 113.

activities of this association prior to the first century AD, which could serve to support the view that they were cult associations, created by Claudius especially for this purpose.

Other *collegia* assisted with banners and all, at imperial visits to provincial towns, and they took part in triumphal parades and imperial funeral processions in Rome. An account of the triumphal entry of the third-century emperor Aurelian into Rome is a typical example:[97]

> Then came the Roman people itself: the flags of the *collegia* and the military camps, the heavy cavalry and the wealth of kings, the entire army and the senate ... all adding much to the splendour of the procession

When the emperor Constantine made his entry into Autun in 311 a rhetor was hired to compose a panegyric to flatter the emperor, but also to raise the city's sense of pride:[98]

> We decorated the streets leading to the palace, although only with poor ornaments, yet we carried forth for your welcoming all the standards of the *collegia*, and all the images of our gods.

It is obvious that in these cases the *collegia* were seen as representatives of the community of citizens as a whole. Some *collegia*, such as the *fabri* of Sarmizegethusa had special ensigns to do the job: we know of individuals serving as *imaginifer* or as *vexillarius*.[99] *Vexillarii* appear to have constituted a recognised subdivision of the *fabri* in Pliny's home town Comum, which surely is an indication of the importance of parades in the life of the *collegia*.[100] The city's magistrates were undoubtedly interested in an orderly conduct of the parades. An inscription from Aquincum in Pannonia was dedicated by a *decurio* and magistrate of the town who had been *praefectus* of the *fabri* as well as their patron. He mentions that he "had directed the parades of the *fabri*" which suggest that there was some kind of formal control.[101]

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[97] SHA *Aureliani* 33-35.1 See also SHA *Gallieni* 7.4-9.1. For a description of a triumph of Gallienus.

[98] Pan. Lat. *Constantine* 8. Rhetorical handbooks contained examples of the genre: see Menander Rhetor (ed. Russell-Wilson), p. 100.

[99] E.g. *CIL* III, 7900; *CIL* III, 6150 = 7437; *CIL* III, 1583 = 8018.

[100] *CIL* V, 5272.

[101] *CIL* V, 3423: *duxit coll(egium) s(upra) s(criptum) in ambulativis*. Most scholars take *ambulativa* to refer to the activities as a firebrigade, and translate

Historians of ceremonial life in pre-industrial societies have often emphasised the ubiquity and social importance of civic parades, and ancient historians are increasingly turning their attention towards parades and processions in the ancient world.[102] If the evidence for the parades of Roman *collegia* is limited, the comparative evidence for the civic guards suggests that parades may have played a much more important part in collegiate life than has often been appreciated.

Commensality

Most scholars would probably agree that commensality was one of the major attractions of Roman *collegia* and Dutch civic guards alike. Ancient and modern historians, often adopting a moralising stance, chastise *collegia*, or civic guard companies for their voracious appetites and loutish behaviour. An English visitor to the city of Dordrecht in 1632 reported after witnessing a militia feast:[103]

> I do not believe scarce a sober man to be found amongst them, nor was it safe for a sober man to trust himself amongst them, they did shout so and sing, roar, skip and leap.

The nineteenth-century Dutch historian Busken-Huet appears no less shocked on account of the banqueting scenes on militia paintings of Frans Hals and his colleagues:[104]

> On some civic guard paintings by Frans Hals the dinner guests are all holding an '*oliebol*' (a kind of donut), and the glow of their wine-heated cheeks emulates the crimson of their sashes dressed *en autoir* across their chests. A famous image is that of the '*amateur*' on a painting by Van der Helst, now in the Rijksmuseum, lifting a bone with his hands to his mouth. One is in a world of people with faces shiny with fat, and whose bellies are tight as drums. One would expect them to undo their trousers any moment.

'manoeuvres' or 'drills.' Cf. Ausbüttel (1982) 72-73; Royden (1988) 17. The proper translation of *ambulativa* is 'parades' or 'processions' (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*).

[102] Cf. Muir (1981) and Darnton (1984). For applications of this approach to antiquity see Connor (1987) and Rogers (1991).

[103] Quoted from Knevel (1994) 298; cf. Schama (1987) 198.

[104] Busken-Huet (1987) 661-662. See Knevel (1994) 297 on this passage. The painting is discussed in Carasso-Kok and Levy-van Halm (1988) 327-323 (no. 189) and a colour reproduction can be found on pp. 38-39.

The civic guards do not receive a better press in the works of modern historians, such as Burke and Schama who suggest that commensality was their sole *raison d'être.*[105]

Commensality appears to have been equally important to the Roman *collegia.* Tertullian's defence of the Christians in his *Apologeticum* relies on a negative comparison with other forms of sociability. Christian assemblies are unlike other associations, he writes, for they collect money that [106]

> is not spent on banquets nor on drinking bouts nor on thankless eating houses, but on supporting and burying the poor;

Their attitude to food and drink is characterised by moderation, instead of the drunkenness and gluttony displayed by the members of *collegia*:[107]

> Our dinner ... is called by the Greek name for love [*agape*] ... since it turns on the duty of religion, it allows nothing vile, nothing immodest. We do not recline until we have first partaken of prayer to God; only so much is eaten as to satisfy hunger; only so much drunk as meets the needs of the modest.

Finally, when Christians went home after their meetings, they did not vandalise the city like the *collegiati* did. Christian apologists depicted the banquets of pagan *collegia* in unfavourable light in support of their own case, of course, but they must have expected to tap into widely shared prejudices. Other ancient literary sources betray a similar view. Varro suggests that Roman farmers could make a killing as a result of the continuous banquets of the *collegia*:[108]

> But to reach such a haul as that you will need a public banquet or somebody's triumph, such as that of Metellus Scipio at that time, or the *collegium* banquets that are now so countless that they make the price of provisions in the meat market go soaring.

It would seem that ancient literary authors viewed the banquets of the *collegia* as characterised by excess, but modern ancient historians too have been impressed by the capacity of the *collegia* to dine and

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[105] Burke (1991) 53; Schama (1987) 187-191; cf. 251-252.
[106] Tertullian, *Apol.* 39.
[107] Ibidem.
[108] Varro, *Re Rustica* 3.2.16.

wine.[109] Hopkins suggests that even their attendance at the funerals of friends and colleagues were no more than a pretext for banquets or feasts:[110]

> perhaps commemoration of the dead was a good excuse for a party ... but they feasted in the shadow of their own unpredictable deaths.

These examples make clear that eating and drinking together was as prominent a feature of the sociability of the urban 'middle classes' in Roman Italy as it was in the Dutch Republic. It would seem, however that historians of these groups have not always fully appreciated the social and cultural importance of these forms of commensality. Modern studies have shown us that banquets can be used to express, among many other things, ideas about the identity of a group and about the essential values which govern its social relationships. It has been suggested that one of the effects of commensality was to promote a sense of collective identity. As it was recently put by Pauline Schmitt-Pantel in the context of civic banquets in the ancient world:[111]

> La consommation rituelle des nourritures ... 'realise', selon l'expression de J.-P. Vernant, 'entre les convives, une identité d'être, une sorte de consanguinité'. Elle fonde ou renforce les liens sociaux et le repas en commun est dans de multiple occasions le meilleur moyen d'exprimer la communauté.

The banquets of the civic guards and the *collegia* were no exception. Even though the authorities may have regarded the feasts and banquets of private associations with some suspicion, it would appear that there was more at stake than uninhibited revelling. The guilds, civic guards, and *collegia* themselves did their best to present their banquets and feasts as highly regulated and ritualised events, as is evident from a number of regulations of these associations (*'keuren'* in the case of the civic guards, *'leges'* in the case of *collegia*) that deal with them.[112]

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[109] Cf. Waltzing (1895-1900), I, 322-330, esp. 323; MacMullen (1974) 77-80.

[110] Hopkins (1983) 214.

[111] Schmitt-Pantel (1992) 291. Cf. also Scheid (1985) for the importance of banquets in Rome.

[112] Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 685-686. We do not have regulations of *fabri* or *centonarii*, but the conformism of the other regulations makes it likely that these will have been similar. We have among others the regulations of *collegium eborariorum et*

The regulations show that banquets were often limited to a set number of days in the year to mark special occasions. In the case of *collegia* the '*ordo cenarum*' could be the determined by birthdays of emperors and patrons, or even the *dies natalis* of the *collegium* itself.[113] The Dutch civic guard companies had their banquets or drinking bouts on for example the anniversaries of historical events,[114] or at the end of the administrative year. In addition to these there were occasional banquets and drinking bouts throughout the year: when officers or *collegium* magistrates were appointed—or left office—when members died, when the head quarters were restored or new ones completed, or when magistrates presented benefactions to the clubs. The behaviour of *collegia* and civic guards was very similar indeed. When the '*schutters*' of Leiden escorted newly appointed officers to the guardroom and back to their homes "with torches, flutes, drums and firing of their muskets" in the hope of receiving a portion of wine or beer in exchange, they did not behave in a fundamentally different way from Roman *collegiati* who expected to get a handout from their new patrons, or from magistrates.[115]

The special character of these meetings was further underlined by their monumental settings. We have some information about the locations where Roman *collegia* gathered for their banquets and feasts.[116] In some cases their 'parties' took place in magnificent tomb complexes, where often special dining rooms had been constructed, in other cases the dining rooms of temples served as suitable venues.

We are particularly well informed about the prominent *collegia* of the harbour city of Ostia. A recent study has identified the *schola* of several of the more than 40 *collegia* of this town, including those of

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citriariorum (*CIL* VI, 33885); of a cult association for Diana and Antinous (*CIL* XIV, 2112); a *collegium Silvani*, (*AE* 1929, 161), a cult association for Aesculapius and Hygia (*CIL* VI, 10234). From the Eastern provinces come the famous rules of the Athenian Iobacchoi (*IG* II^2, 1368) and the regulations of salt dealers and other associations from Egyptian Tebtynis (*P.Mich* 5, 243, 244, 245, 246). For the ordinances of Dutch civic guards see: Carasso-Kok (1988) 22-23; Carasso-Kok and Levy-van Halm (1988) 178-179, no. 2 (the ordinances of the Haarlem Civic Guard); 179, no. 3 (the ordinances of the guards of Utrecht); Knevel (1994) 298.

113 Cf. *CIL* XIV, 2112.

114 Since the 1597 the civic guards of the city of Alkmaar were treated on beer at each anniversary of the siege of the city in 1574; Knevel (1994) 298.

115 Knevel (1994) 299.

116 Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 437-445.

the *fabri* and the *dendrophori*.[117] Most of these buildings were monumental structures, located at prominent sites. The *fabri tignuarii* occupied an impressive building immediately adjacent to the *forum*, the *fabri navales*, had their headquarters along the *decumanus*, while the *dendrophori* were based in a monumental temple complex, known as the *campus* of *Magna Mater*. Most buildings had courtyards with colonnades, meeting rooms and banquet facilities.

Less is known about the inventory of these *scholae*, although we know that statues and precious objects were kept there. The dedication of a silver statue to an emperor or a protective deity was a good opportunity for organising a formal banquet, or for the distribution of a hand-out. Many inscriptions record these acts of generosity. An unidentified *collegium* in Ostia even kept a monumental record of such gifts: a large inscription in the schola commemorated the presentation of each gift to the *collegium*.[118]

The situation in the Republic was not dissimilar. The militia-buildings had originally been functional rooms located on or near the grounds which the guards used for target practice (the *doelen*). In the course of the seventeenth century, however, these building acquired a more monumental character: famous architects were hired by the guards or by the city authorities to design the militia-halls.[119] Most halls appear to have had a central meeting room, as well as several smaller rooms where the officers could dine in private or receive their guests. They all had kitchens, cellars and provision rooms.[120] The reception rooms were richly decorated with paintings, stained glass windows, or impressive mantelpieces. Among the most precious possessions of the guards was often a collection of silver objects: silver drinking vessels, salt containers, cups and plates inscribed with their coats of arms or with scenes from the illustrious past of the

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[117] Hermansen (1982), Ch. 2.

[118] *AE* 1940, 62.

[119] Rosenberg (1988).

[120] In some cases these buildings were also used by the city to accommodate official guest of the town, and when the guards lost their importance, the buildings proved to be suitable for commercial exploitation. The militia hall of the calivermen of the city of Dordrecht, for example, was turned into an ordinary inn in the eigtheenth century. Rosenberg (1988) 69.

guards.[121] As with the treasures of the *collegia*, such objects were often gifts from the leading members of the clubs, whose names were often inscribed on the objects. A civic guard company in Amsterdam recorded such donations also in their official register.[122]

Generosity was thus used to establish social superiority inside the group. This appears to have been a wider phenomenon: far from being the celebrations of the "homogeneity of Dutch bourgeois culture", as Huizinga thought, civic-guard banquets were increasingly affected by the wider social trend of hierarchisation and aristocratisation.[123] The officers wore special sashes at the dinners, or carried batons with them as indications of their ranks. They also began to use separate rooms in the militia halls for their feasts, and a strict table order was used to underline differences in rank.

The regulations of Roman *collegia* indicate that a hierarchical set-up was also characteristic of their banquets. Magistrates were supposed to provide meals and *sportulae*.[124] The regulations stipulated that patrons, *quinquennales*, magistrates and ordinary members would partake of the meal in a pre-determined order; moreover, each category appears to have been entitled to different types of food or differently sized portions.[125] Nevertheless, it should be admitted that it was sometimes an uphill struggle to present the commensality of the civic-guard companies, or of the *collegia*, as dignified events. We saw that outsiders were not always convinced of the serious intention of these banquets, and many of the regulations contain clauses which show that unruly behaviour was not uncommon. The leadership of the Haarlem civic guard tried to curb the excesses of the common members by setting a limit of four days to each party and by putting an end to the presence of women and children at these occasions. The civic guards of Alkmaar imposed a fine on members who were sick inside the militia hall, and on guardsmen who broke glass.[126] *Collegium* regulations were keen to punish members who insulted, or

[121] Schama (1987) 188-189; A survey of the silver ware of Dutch guards in van den Bergh-Hoogterp (1988).

[122] An extract from the *Hamboech Scutterienboeck* for the years 1531-1561 is reproduced in van den Bergh-Hoogterp (1988) 161-162.

[123] Huizinga (1956) 56-57. Cf. Knevel (1994) 305-307, Burke (1991) 9-10.

[124] *CIL* VI, 33995

[125] *CIL* XIV, 2112; *CIL* VI, 10234; see also Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 676-678.

[126] Knevel (1994) 298.

even assaulted the magistrates.[127] They tried to put a stop to the conduct of business at banquets "so that we might dine quiet and peacefully on our festive days", and punished people who tried to take another members' seat.[128]

We see that there was more at stake with these banquets and feasts than simple eating and drinking together. Commensality helped to establish group identity, but it also served to create social distance inside the group itself. Civic guard banquets and the feasts of *collegia* were highly regulated and ritualised occasions, suffused with symbolism. The multiplicity of ordinances and rituals as well as the ostentatious settings helped to legitimise private banquets by turning them into dignified events in contradistinction to the drunken orgies in pubs and inns of the common man. Private conviviality was used in an attempt at self-representation, designed to establish these organisations as respectable status groups in society.

It will come as no surprise then that the formal banquet is one of the favourite subjects of the most famous example of self-presentation of civic guards: the *schuttersstukken* (militia pieces) that the *schutters* proudly displayed in their militia halls.

Self-representation

Rembrandt's 'Night Watch' is one of the most famous paintings in the world. It was commissioned in 1642 by the Amsterdam 'calivermen' (guardsmen who handled a type of firearm), and it shows a group portrait of civic guard captain Frans Banning Cocq and his officers. Such militia pieces are a strikingly Dutch contribution to art history, and 135 paintings have survived dating from 1529 to 1686.[129] The paintings were usually commissioned by the officers at memorable occasions such as an important visit, the promotion of an officer, or other changes in the officers' corps. They were put on display in the banquet rooms of the drill halls. It cannot have been too difficult to find suitable artists, as many guards counted painters among their

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[127] *CIL* VIII, 14683.

[128] *CIL* XIV, 2112.

[129] A list may be found in: Carasso-Kok and Levy-van Halm (1988) 390-395. The genre is discussed in Levy-van Halm (1988), Levy-van Halm and Abraham (1989), Tümpel (1988) and Ekkart (1988).

members (Frans Hals was a member of the St. George Civic Guard in Haarlem, whose portraits he painted).[130]

Most pieces show the members either seated around a table laid out for a sumptuous banquet, or standing while handling their weapons. It would be tempting to interpret these works as the realistic portrayals of everyday activities, but matters are more complicated than that.[131] It has been demonstrated that these paintings were not depictions of actual events, but they were rather formally stylised and idealised representations of the hierarchical order withinin the civic guard companies, much like the group-portraits of other official Dutch bodies of this period. Such paintings tended to show only the officers, while the rank and file was left out of the picture. Moreover, the paintings gave a clear indication of the various offices these men occupied: officers were portrayed holding the weapon that was associated with their rank, while the arrangement of the figures at a banquet made it possible to identify the various offices from their position around the table.[132]

The guardsmen took good care of the paintings in their halls: accounts show that money was spent on cleaning or restoring old paintings. In other cases we see that the names of long-gone officers were added to the paintings lest it should be forgotten who they were.[133] Such paintings boosted the standing of the individual officers concerned (many officers had private copies of the paintings made and displayed them in their homes),[134] as well as that of later incumbents of their posts. Ordinary members may have derived a sense of individual importance from membership of such venerable and ancient organisations.

Not many formal group portraits of Roman *collegia* have survived, but the inscriptions that we know as *'alba'* or *'fasti'* betray a similar

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130 Knevel (1994) 313.

131 For a discussion of 'realism' in Dutch seventeenth-century painting, see Sluijter (1990).

132 Knevel (1994) 315-322; Schama (1987) 188-189, on the banquet scenes.

133 Knevel (1994) 135-139.

134 A good example is Frans Banning Cocq who included a line drawing of Rembrandt's Nightwatch in his family album, complete with a note identifying his role. He also commisioned a painted copy from the painter Lundens, see Knevel (1994) 135-6.

concern with 'genealogical bookkeeping'.[135] A great deal of our knowledge of the membership and internal hierarchies of Roman *collegia* derives from such lists of names. Most scholars have seen in these lists nothing more than practical documents, intended solely for consultation with practical questions about the membership in mind. Recent studies have used such lists to good effect, to answer prosopographical questions concerning the status and background of the membership; the structure of enterprises in the building and transport trade, or the career patterns of *collegium* magistrates.[136] However, there have been few attempts to understand what *collegia* may have tried to achieve by setting up these lists.[137] Not enough attention has been paid to the occasions when which these lists were recorded, nor to the locations where they were displayed, although such factors must have affected the meaning of these inscriptions. The first thing to note is that these inscriptions belonged to a wide-spread genre: members of other organisations, such as neighbourhood associations and the organisations of the Augustales inscribed similar lists.[138] The example was often set by the local *decuriones* who produced their own lists, as for example, in Canusium or Timgad. At one level, therefore, the production of such lists by lower-class organisations is a striking example of imitative behaviour whereby non-élite groups sought to present themselves in the same manner as the local *ordo.*

It is customary to distinguish between *alba* which contained the names of all members and *fasti* which only listed the magistrates, but this distinction may be too rigid.[139] The main distinction appears to have been between on the one hand inscriptions with lists of members, or officials, to which new names were continuously added, and on the other lists of those members who were present at certain important ritual occasions. In either case the inscription may have served a

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[135] Willem Jongman kindly reminds me that a Pompeiian wall-painting from Pompeii seems to show a *collegium* of fullers at a banquet. For the term 'genealogical bookkeeping', see Knevel (1994) 137.

[136] For example: Herz (1994), Royden (1988); Pearse (1974), and Pearse (1980).

[137] See, however, Purcell (1992).

[138] For examples, see Jongman (1988) 304-5.

[139] Royden (1988) 17-18. He mentions an *album* of the *fabri tignuarii* in Rome which listed only the magistrates; cf. Pearse (1980). Ancient terminology appears to have been flexible, see for a survey, Waltzing (1895-1900), IV, 269-270.

symbolic purpose, which can be compared to the functions of the militia pieces to the Dutch civic guards.

Like civic-guard portraits, these membership-lists were displayed in the clubhouses or other places that the *collegia* used for their assemblies and banquets. They had a certain monumentality, which is evident even from the facsimiles in *CIL* or other publications: in a way they were a group-portrait in words. Some inscriptions marked an important occasion in the history of the *collegium*, such as the presentation of a major benefaction,[140] the erection of a dedication[141] or honorific statue[142], or the formal confirmation of the privileges of the *collegium*.[143] The function of these inscriptions appears to have been to preserve as many names as possible of those present: something which added to the solemnity of the event. However, the individuals concerned must also have derived a sense of importance from their commemoration; presence at these important occasions was made permanent by the inscription.

The general membership lists served a similar function. Names were either added as people joined, or at the occasion of a lustrum.[144] In either case the adding of new names to the existing ones was an occasion of ritual importance.[145] Membership of a *collegium* was fully defined only by naming, and by the permanent addition of individual names to those of the group, making permanently visible that they had accepted the codes and values of the *collegium*. This strategic importance is also underlined by the hierarchical organization of such lists. *Alba* tended to list first patrons and honorary members, then magistrates and quinquennales, and finally the rank and file classified by *centuria* or *decuria*, thus mapping out the organisational principles underlying the organisation.[146]

The paintings and the inscriptions presented an idealised image of internal order and harmony, an image that the craftsmen and traders were undoubtedly keen to present to a society where rank and

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[140] *CIL* VI, 816; 9405.

[141] *CIL* VI, 1060.

[142] *CIL* XIV 2408.

[143] *AE* 1919, 69-70 (see above n. 18).

[144] *CIL* VI, 10299, 10300. *CIL* XIV, 250.

[145] For a symbolic or ritual importance of similar inscriptions see Beard (1985), Beard (1991). I discuss this in more detail in the introduction of Van Nijf (1997).

[146] *CIL* XI, 1355; *CIL* XIV 246, 247.

hierarchy were considered of utmost importance. However, the orderly rows of names or the carefully arranged diners of the militia pieces may hide a certain amount of internal tension and potential disorder that came to the surface only occasionally. Changes in membership, or the loss of patronage could render a membership list obsolete, in some cases even offensive. Romans could ritually chisel away unwanted names: *damnatio memoriae* was also available to the common man.[147] Again we find a parallel in the Dutch Republic. In 1615 Frans Pietersz. de Grebber was commissioned to paint a group portrait of the calivermen of the city of Haarlem. In 1617 he was asked to remove four figures who had been ousted from the guard for political reasons. In 1618, however, the climate had changed, the guardsmen were re-admitted, and De Grebber had to paint them in again.[148]

Conclusion: sociability in the city

> Il n'est pas de lieu et de forme de la sociabilité grecque qui n'ait été aussi l'objet de représentation dans l'imaginaire civique[149]

The work of Schmitt-Pantel has emphasised the importance of sociability for self-definition in the Greek city. In the isonomic *polis* public commensality helped to define and express civic identity. Even private symposia could serve as 'structures of participation' alongside more obvious institutions as the assembly.[150] In less democratic contexts such as the Roman empire or the Dutch Republic, the relationship between city and citizen was not so straightforward.[151] In either period power at a local level was in the firm grip of a small oligarchy: political participation was not a realistic source of social identity for anyone else.

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[147] An example of '*damnatio memoriae*' of a benefactor by a village-association can be found in Robert (1949) 32; another example is perhaps (*pace* Reynolds) the case of the linen-weavers of Aphrodisias in Reynolds (1995).

[148] Israel (1996) 501-503. Cf. Levy-van Halm (1988) 112, (pl. 78) = cat 186.

[149] Schmitt-Pantel (1987).

[150] Schmitt-Pantel (1990) and Schmitt-Pantel (1992), for the term 'structure of participation': Gauthier (1974).

[151] For the situation in the Dutch Republic see Price (1995); Van Deursen (1995), and Burke (1991).

In either period economically successful members of the urban middle classes had to find alternative structures of integration into the civic world. Various types of club and association appear to have served this function in the cities of the Republic and the Roman Empire. In particular the combination of private sociability and public utility proved to be successful as a source of civic identity. The civic guards and the *collegia* were a major focus for middle class sociability. The comparison of these two forms of sociability has revealed many similarities. Their numerous banquets, feasts, and hand-outs were not merely opportunities to eat, drink and be merry. They were also ritual occasions which sustained a sense of unity, while allowing individual members to sort out their rank and status in the group. Formal group portraits and monumental inscriptions reinforced the significance of these occasions, and presented a fixed record of the principles underlying the internal hierarchy. This common identity was also projected to the populations at large. We have seen that *collegiati* as well as guardsmen took part in civic rituals under the banner of their respective organizations. The relatively high profile of these organizations appears to have been based on the idea that they performed essential functions for the city: maintenance of law and order in the case of the civic guards, and fire fighting in the case of the *collegia*. We have seen, however, that there are grounds to believe that the actual extent of these contributions has been overestimated. The fire-fighting activities of the *collegia* are poorly documented, and the local authorities may have relied on self-help and other organisations instead. The Dutch militia-men guarded the gates and patrolled the streets in Holland, but not always very effectively, and they were better known for their drunken behaviour than for their heroism in the face of danger. These men were less concerned with the public order than with securing their own distinct place in the corporate order of the city.

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GREED, GENEROSITY AND GIFT-EXCHANGE IN EARLY GREECE AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC[°]

Hans van Wees

A story circulating in Athens told how, around 600 BC, the Alcmeonid family, "illustrious to begin with," had become "really illustrious" through the cunning of Alcmeon, son of Megacles. Alcmeon had made himself useful to a fabulously wealthy Oriental king by arranging for the king's messengers to gain access to the Delphic oracle, and in return he had received an invitation to come to court.[1] There he was offered a gift of as much gold as he could carry.

> He came up with the following scheme. He put on a large tunic, leaving a deep fold of it hanging over his belt, as well as a pair of high boots, the widest he could find, and so entered the treasury to which they showed him. Throwing himself on a heap of gold dust, he first stuffed around his shins as much gold as the boots would hold, then filled with gold the whole fold of his tunic, sprinkled gold dust over his hair, took some more in his mouth, and came out of the treasury. He was barely able to drag his boots and looked anything but human, with his mouth stuffed and everything bulging.

The king was amused. He let Alcmeon keep it all, and gave him the same amount again as an additional gift. With his new-found wealth Alcmeon created a stable of race-horses and went on to win the chariot race at Olympia (Herodotus 6.125).

What is funny in this story is the hero's uninhibited breach of decorum, but what has most interested scholars is his apparent breach of the rules of reciprocity. We are inclined to think that the proper

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° Although it cannot begin to repay the debt I owe him, I am delighted to offer this paper as a token return for the generosity of Harry Pleket, a scholar and supervisor to treasure.

1 The chronological setting of the story is one generation before the rule of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, c. 570. The king named is Croesus of Lydia, but the historical Croesus was not in power as early as 600; if there is a historical basis for the story the king of Lydia involved would probably have been Alyattes.

response to the offer of such a lavish gift would be to accept it gratefully, or, perhaps even better, to turn it down modestly, and certainly not to exploit it to the hilt. Alcmeon's greed is even more remarkable when measured not by our standards of propriety but by the standards believed to have governed reciprocal relations in early Greece. The king and Alcmeon would have been bound by *xenía*, 'ritual friendship' or 'guest-friendship,' a relation which was supposed to be governed by mutual generosity. Indeed, one view among scholars is that in *xenía* (and indeed in most, if not all, social and economic relationships in early Greece) a form of *competitive* generosity ruled. If so, it would have been a point of honour to counter gifts and favours with a return of at least equal value; the greater the gifts one accepted, the greater one's loss of face.[2] Alcmeon was obviously not playing this game. He appears to be displaying just the sort of excessive love of wealth constantly denounced in archaic poetry; the image he presents on emerging from the treasury is almost a cartoon illustration of the contemporary Spartan proverb "a man is what he owns."[3] Several scholars have therefore concluded that the anecdote was hostile to the Alcmeonid family, "amusing at the expense of Alcmeon, a boorish Greek displaying his greed before the wise and generous king."[4] It has even been interpreted as a popular tale told "against the system of elite gift exchange" as such. "For the gift is exposed in this instance as the basest form of profit, obscenely inscribed on Alcmeon's body."[5]

Yet we are clearly meant to *approve* of Alcmeon. The story is not a parable of shameless and undignified greed, but a comical tale

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[2] The idea that *competitive* reciprocity dominated social relations in early Greece was already implicit in Finley (1956), esp. 61-70, 95-104, 120-6, and had been spelled out in Humphreys (1978) 151, but really took off only with the publication of Donlan (1981) and Qviller (1981). Walter Donlan has further developed his important analysis in a series of subsequent articles (1982a; 1982b; 1985; 1989a; 1989b; 1989c; 1993; 1994; 1998), while Bjorn Qviller has returned to the subject (1995) in response to the work of Christoph Ulf (1990) 191-212, 223-231. Other studies discussing *xenía* in the context of reciprocal relations include Mitchell (1997); Von Reden (1995) 13-81; Seaford (1994), esp. 13-73; Van Wees (1992), esp. 168-71, 218-37; Herman (1987).

[3] Alcaeus F 360 L-P; see the discussions of this and other archaic denunciations of greed in Van Wees (1999a) 10-12; (1999b) 2-4.

[4] Thomas (1989) 266.

[5] Kurke (1999) 144-5.

illustrating an ancestor's exemplary inventiveness in the cause of self-enrichment. This is evident not only from the king's indulgent response, but also from the contexts in which the story was told. In Herodotus' *Histories*, it was sandwiched between an emphatic defence of the Alcmeonid family's record of implacable opposition to tyranny (6.121-4)—a record which we happen to know from an inscription was not in fact unblemished—and an account of the family's subsequent rise to still greater fame through a celebrated dynastic marriage, culminating in the careers of Cleisthenes, "who founded the tribes and the democracy in Athens," and Pericles (6.126-31).[6] Moreover, the story had apparently been told earlier by Pindar: this must have happened in a victory ode for an Alcmeonid, like his *Seventh Pythian*, and implies that their ancestor's exploitation of royal generosity was a source of pride to the family.[7] Moreover, Alcmeon's

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[6] Some scholars find it impossible to see the story in a favourable light, and argue that Herodotus' telling of it must have been 'ironic,' that he used it to insinuate doubts about the reputation of the Alcmeonids even as, on the surface, he was praising them to the skies; see e.g. Strasburger (1955) 15-17; Hart (1982) 13; Thomas (1989) 264-81; Kurke (1999) 142-6. The argument for this view, best set out by Rosalind Thomas, is weak. It relies primarily on the differences between the story in Herodotus and the potted family history recited by the younger Alcibiades in Isocrates 16.25-6 (395 BC). The latter does not mention the generosity of the king, but mentions, as Herodotus does not, that Alcmeon was the *first* Athenian ever to win the Olympic chariot race. It is supposed, therefore, that Herodotus suppressed this last detail in order to minimize the prestige derived from the victory, and that he played up the embarrassing association with Eastern royalty which Isocrates preferred to suppress: Thomas (1989) 266. But Pindar also praised the 'outstanding' Olympic victory of Alcmeon, in a victory ode composed for the Alcmeonid Megacles (*Pythian* 7.10-13; 486 BC), without mentioning that it was the first won by an Athenian, so we can read no significance into Herodotus' silence on this point. Nor is there any reason to think that an association with Croesus was at all embarrassing: he is a sympathetic figure in Herodotus, and treated as a role model of 'kindly virtue' in Pindar: *Pythian* 1.94; cf. Kurke (1999) 131-42. His absence from Isocrates is easily explained: the speaker is emphasizing how his ancestors *spent* their wealth to the benefit of Athens, and has absolutely no reason to elaborate on how they *acquired* it. We should note, rather, that the three Alcmeonid claims to fame highlighted in Isocrates all appear in Herodotus, too: the wealth which enabled them to win an Olympic victory, their allegedly implacable opposition to tyranny, and Cleisthenes' creation of democracy. The fact that Herodotus adds to this list two more achievements—the dynastic marriage and the power of Pericles—about which one might at worst feel slightly ambiguous (Thomas [1989] 268-72), gives us no grounds for treating his account as any less glorifying than Isocrates' is.

[7] Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 1.8, refers to the appearance of the episode in Pindar, as noted by Kurke, who assumes that Pindar must have told the story very differently: Kurke (1999) 144 n. 41. But in order to be recognizably the same tale, it cannot have

behaviour was not without distinguished precedents: Homeric heroes, as we shall see, were equally happy to enrich themselves at the expense of their friends abroad. Given such apparent anomalies, we ought to suspend our own values of reciprocity and reconsider what we know of the nature of gift-exchange in Greek *xenía*.

In claiming that competitive reciprocity prevailed in early Greece, scholars have often drawn on comparative evidence, which shows that competition within reciprocal exchange is common in tribal societies all over the world. Comparative evidence, however, also reveals that competitive reciprocity is far from the universal principle of exchange in these societies. Other principles may be at work at the same time, and the result may be ambivalent attitudes, or indeed an outright conflict of goals in exchange. And, whatever the rules are supposed to be, it often turns out that a yawning gap lies between theory and practice. The stories of Alcmeon and the epic heroes suggest that reciprocal relations may have been as complex and varied in early Greece as they usually are in the ethnographic record. They need not have obeyed a single, simple rule of competitive generosity.[8]

The best known and most studied of 'primitive' reciprocal relationships, the *kula* partnership of the Trobriands and the other islands of the Massim region to the east of Papua New Guinea, offers a number of specific and striking parallels to relations of *xenía*. More generally, *kula* offers a particularly fine illustration of ambivalent attitudes and conflicting goals in gift-exchange, and a prime example of practice diverging from theory: if there is a flaw in the massive study which first described and analyzed the institution in detail,

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been fundamentally different, and must at least have featured a promise of gold and some hint that Alcmeon seized the opportunity to extract the greatest possible profit from the offer.

[8] For a survey of anthropological theory and ethnographic evidence for reciprocity, see Van Wees (1998). The assumption that the rules of reciprocal exchange are clear-cut and universally valid spoils the otherwise interesting discussion of Homeric reciprocity presented by Von Reden, who claims that "the typical rules of gift-exchange are too often neglected or transgressed in the epics for it to be regarded as a faithful representation of an operating social system": Von Reden (1995) 14; cf. Hooker (1989) 87-8. She posits that the epics instead represent a conscious and critical mixture of current and past practice combined with fictional forms of gift-giving based on the 'metaphysics' of contemporary hero cult. We shall see that Homeric gift-giving is complex, but entirely compatible with ethnographic evidence; it is therefore very probable that it does represent "an operating social system."

Bronislaw Malinowski's classic *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), it is its failure to recognize that the reality of the relationship generally does not live up to the ideal, as much subsequent fieldwork has shown. A study of this Melanesian custom may therefore help us understand better the early Greek evidence and demonstrate how greed may assert itself even in a relationship ostensibly based on generosity.

1. *Patterns of gift-giving in* xenia *and* kula

Guest-friendship and *kula* partnership have two basic features in common.[9] First, they are in their societies the main form of personal tie between people from different communities; an overseas *kula* partner, like a Greek guest-friend (*xenos* or *xeinos*), acts as "host, patron and ally in a land of danger and insecurity."[10] Secondly, the giving of precious gifts by host to guest is a vital part of both relationships, although there are significant differences in the nature of the prestations involved.

Kula gifts are of two kinds: *mwali*—arm-ornaments cut from large white *conus* shells and decorated with cowrie shells and beads—and *bagi* (or *soulava*)—necklaces made of red *chama* shell discs and decorated with shell pendants. These ornaments are the most prestigious goods in the native category of 'valuables' (*vaygua/ veguwa*). They may be worn at dances and festivals, but the most precious of them are too valuable and too ancient to be used except on the rarest occasions, and often too large or too small to be used at all. Famous specimens have proper names, and their history of ownership is remembered.

Subsidiary forms of gift-giving, not regarded as part of the *kula* exchange proper, feature lesser valuables, such as greenstone axe-blades and large clay cooking pots, as well as non-valuables

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[9] The following outline of *kula* is drawn from Malinowski (1922); Fortune (1932); Uberoi (1962); Weiner (1976), (1988); Damon (1980), (1983), (1990); Leach (1983); Munn (1986).

[10] Malinowski (1922) 92. Whereas guest-friendship can exist *only* between members of different political units, *kula* relationships also exist within communities and families. Yet a distinction is made between local 'friend' and overseas 'partner' (Malinowski [1922] 275), and internal *kula* is regarded as a minor affair.

(*gugua/guguwa*), such as wooden combs, lime spoons and lime pots, and food.[11]

In *xenía*, almost anything may be offered to a guest. Gifts of guest-friendship (called *xénia*, with the accent on the first syllable), from Homer to the Classical period, are often 'treasures' (*keimêlia*, 'things to lay down,' i.e. durable and storable wealth). Top items of treasure are cooking and drinking vessels of bronze, silver, or gold: tripods and cauldrons; wine cups, water jars, mixing bowls. Weapons and armour also feature, as well as unworked metal and, after the introduction of coinage from the mid-sixth century BC onwards, sums of money. Epic poets further mention gifts of cloth: cloaks, tunics, gowns, blankets, and the like. Not even the most spectacular of treasures bear a proper name, but—in the world of epic heroes, at any rate—a few pieces do acquire a short history of their own, as they are passed on from one owner to another.

Non-treasure gifts may take the form of slaves, livestock, or a variety of natural resources. In legend, it is a *xenos* who presents Odysseus with arrow poison, apparently taboo and hard to come by (*Od.* 1.259-64); in history, large quantities of timber and grain, equally scarce, were presented by Macedonian and Pontic kings to their *xenoi* in Athens.[12]

It is a mistake to see a fundamental difference between the treasures of the Greeks and the valuables of the Melanesians, as Moses Finley did when he described the former as prestige symbols of real 'intrinsic' value in contrast to the "objects of little or no intrinsic worth, cowrie shells or wampum or cheap blankets" regarded as "prestige symbols ... among many primitive peoples."[13] The value we attach to gold and silver is, of course, no less a matter of convention than the value attached to shells in the Trobriands, or to any material in any culture: "if it had been the Chinese who engulfed the world in a wide-embracing economic system, we might well have found ourselves using jade rather than gold as the symbol of supreme

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[11] Malinowski (1922), esp. 86-91, 270 (for *gugua*), 357-8.

[12] For the full range of gifts, from Homer to the Hellenistic period: Herman (1987) 60-7, 82-115. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, kings might even offer estates and cities to their *xenoi*.

[13] Finley (1956) 120.

value."[14] We must remind ourselves, then, that to the Trobrianders and their neighbours a famed armshell is every bit as precious as a silver mixing bowl is to a Homeric hero, or a heap of gold dust to an Athenian aristocrat.

Exchange of *xénia* takes three forms, besides the provision of food, drink, and shelter. The first is the 'gift of initiation,' which involves a direct exchange of items of comparable value, symbolizing the establishment or confirmation of guest-friendship between the two parties. Such initiatory gifts are mentioned in the epics, and remain a regular feature of *xenía* in the classical period.[15] The second type consists of 'favours'; that is to say, the free donation of goods or performance of services which are specifically requested by a guest-friend. A *xenos* might be asked to send troops or money in time of war, food or other natural resources in time of need. He might agree to keep safe a deposit of valuables or provide pasture for a herd of livestock on behalf of his foreign friend. Such favours meet with no direct return, but no doubt it is understood that a return favour is owed.

The third type might be called the 'gift of hospitality,' which is presented in the course of a visit by the host to the *xenos* who is his guest. The visitor may ask for such a gift, but, unlike a favour, it is not perceived as meeting a particular need of his: it is a gratuitous donation, a further extension of hospitality.[16] A return gift is due when the host in turn visits his former guest. Clearly some form of equivalence is required, but all we are told is that a gift of hospitality is "worth a return" (*axion amoibês*, *Od.* 1.318), and that "making a good return [*eu ameipsamenos*] with gifts and good hospitality" is regarded as "the right thing to do, when someone has started it" (*Od.*

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[14] Clark (1986) 50.

[15] 'Gifts of initiation' are so defined Herman (1987) 60-6; cf. Van Wees (1992) 228-9 ('symbols of friendship').

[16] The distinction between 'favours' and 'gifts of hospitality' is not made by Herman, but nevertheless significant: see Van Wees (1992) 229-32, where they are designated 'special requests' and 'parting-gifts,' respectively. Gifts of hospitality are much better attested in epic poetry than outside it, but references to gifts of livestock, slaves, silver goblets, and gold, lavished by Philip of Macedon upon his many Greek visitors during their stay (e.g. Demosthenes 19.139, 259-66, 305-6) suggest that this kind of gift might still be given even in the classical period. For most services, see Herman (1987) 128-30; for placing herds in the care of *xeinoi*, see 14.100-2; Pausanias 4.4.5-7; cf. Hodkinson (1988) 51-3.

24.285-6). This is vague enough to leave room for something other than precise equivalence in material value.[17]

The closest parallel between *kula* and *xenía* lies in the presentation of an armshell or necklace to an overseas *kula* partner, which takes essentially the same form as the presentation of a gift of hospitality to a guest-friend. The initial *kula* gift is offered by a host to his guest; the counter-gift is supposed to be of equivalent value, and is due when the former host pays a return visit.

A *kula* partnership requires no 'gifts of initiation': the first presentation of a shell valuable itself establishes the relation. On the other hand, several minor forms of gift-giving take place before and after the *kula* presentation proper. On arrival, a visitor offers his host some food or other small gift (*pari*); he will receive a slightly more valuable return gift (*taloi*) on departure. If one is looking to be offered one of the most famous armshells or necklaces, one may make one's intentions known through preliminary visits in which one offers the host a further gift of food (*pokala*) and/or a gift of a minor valuable (*kaributu*). These gifts would normally in due course receive an equivalent return, in addition to the *kula* valuable wanted.[18]

Notably lacking in *kula* partnerships is any sign of a general exchange of favours such as we find in *xenía*. Beyond the reciprocal gift-giving and hospitality—the latter amounts to little more than providing a place to meet—the relationship is essentially one of non-hostility rather than of "any great intimacy" or mutual assistance.[19]

Two features which set *kula* apart from every other known exchange relation in tribal society also distinguish it from *xenía*. One is the custom of mobilizing whole communities and a large fleet of canoes in a collective, ceremonial *kula* expedition (*uvalaku*). On these occasions, hundreds of shells change hands as hundreds of men

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[17] Qviller (1995) 254-6, rightly points out *contra* Ulf (1990) 208-12, that there is no explicit evidence for exact equivalence anywhere in the epics. Yet equally, there is no epic evidence for his own view that the return should be *larger* than the original gift, a notion which, as Ulf (1990) 211 n. 86, is right to point out, is based wholly on comparative material (despite Qviller's vehement denials, [1995] 249-50). Hesiod's advice to return the same amount, or more if possible, when one has borrowed from one's neighbours (*Works & Days* 349-51) cannot simply be taken as the norm for relations with *xeinoi* as well. It is, furthermore, not competitive in intention, but designed to make it more likely that one will be able to borrow again (351).

[18] For these and other secondary gifts, see esp. Malinowski (1922) 354-7.

[19] Malinowski (1922) 275-6.

simultaneously visit their overseas partners. Greeks, so far as we can tell, pay visits to their *xenoi* only on an individual basis. The other unique feature is the highly structured and complicated pattern imposed on *kula* transactions. In Greece one is free to keep a gift from a *xenos* or pass it on to someone else, but in *kula* one is not normally allowed to keep a shell valuable for more than a couple of years before passing it on to another partner. The aim is to circulate it in such a way that it travels over a distance of hundreds of miles round all the islands which form the *kula* 'ring'. What is more, necklaces must always make the circuit in a clockwise direction, while armshells go the other way round.

Differences between the two institutions, then, are are considerable. Yet the basic similarities are sufficient to make comparison feasible. As Malinowski put it, to form an impression of what *kula* means to the participants, one should

> imagine that a great number of celebrated gems are let loose among us, and travel from hand to hand - that Koh-I-Noor and Orloff and other celebrated diamonds, emeralds and rubies were on a continuous round tour, and to be obtained through luck, daring and enterprise. Even though possession of them would be a short and temporary one, the renown of having possessed them and the mania of 'collectioneering' would add its spur to the lust for wealth.[20]

Comparable opportunities to obtain treasure as a gift from friends abroad were available to the Greeks, and they seized these no less eagerly than the most enterprising of Trobrianders.

2. *Competitive generosity and the etiquette of exchange*

At the presentation of *kula* gifts, the host highlights his own generosity while the guest behaves as if deeply burdened by the obligation incurred. Their conduct obscures the fact, emphasized and celebrated at all other times, that it is primarily the guest who is seen as gaining from the transaction, both in wealth and in reputation. One lesson to be learnt from a closer look at the etiquette of exchange is that appearances may be deceptive. Another lesson is that, by

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[20] Malinowski (1922) 351-2.

Melanesian standards, generosity in early Greece is asserted and acknowledged in a notably restrained manner.

In overseas *kula*, both the opening gift (*vaga*) and the return (*yotile*)

> have to be accompanied by the blow of a conch shell, and the present is given ostentatiously and in public. The native term 'to throw' a valuable describes well the nature of the act... The etiquette of the transaction requires that the gift should be given in an off-hand, abrupt, almost angry manner, and received with equivalent nonchalance and disdain... The valuable would be placed within the reach of the receiver, and an insignificant member of his following would pick it up.

Malinowski, unusually unsure of himself on this point, thought that the "histrionic anger" of the donor might serve to enhance the value of the gift by indicating "what a wrench it is to give it away," and suggested that the recipient feigned disinterest so as not to "appear in want of anything," as well as to hint at his "dissatisfaction with the value received."[21]

More recent fieldwork in the Massim area shows that in fact the partners are acting out a dominant and submissive role, respectively. The giver of an opening gift, it has been observed, "often stands above and shouts down to the recipient"; "when the return gift is given this pattern may be inverted, but if so it is much reduced in magnitude," because "the giver of a return gift... is not in a position to mark his superiority over the receiver." That the impassivity of the guest is a sign of submission rather than disdain is further evident from the custom by which the recipient of a "really big" opening gift may have some or all of his clothing removed by the follower who picks up the valuable on his behalf.[22] In inland *kula*, where partners can afford to be more openly antagonistic than in overseas exchange, boasts and challenges may be more direct, as Malinowski's own work shows. One fine necklace is presented with an ironic challenge which hints that the gift represents the merest fraction of the donor's superior

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[21] Malinowski (1922) 352-3; Uberoi (1962) 13, sees in it a "formalized" expression of "latent hostility."

[22] Damon (1980) 273; (1990) 91; also (1983) 316.

wealth: "A left-over, take it. I brought it today. Have you perhaps no armshells?"[23]

Among early Greeks—judging by epic poetry, which is almost our only evidence for the finer points of gift-giving etiquette—there was a certain inclination among hosts to make a show of generosity by imposing unconditional and extended hospitality on their guests.

It is considered good form in the *Odyssey* to offer perfect strangers food and drink before even asking who they are. This is in itself a conspicuous act of generosity, although one notes that those whose clothing and personal appearance indicate high rank get larger portions. When guests announce that they must go, the common response is to invite them to stay longer: "Come, stay in my house until the eleventh or twelfth day" (*Od.* 4.587-8).[24] This is more than a polite but token offer. One host elaborates on the 'indignation' one would provoke by offering hospitality 'to excess'. "'Both are equally bad: the man who tells a *xeinos* to go home when he does not want to, and the man who detains a guest in a hurry. One should ... let a *xeinos* go when he wants to" (*Od.* 15.68-74). Apparently, men who force guests to accept unwanted generosity are a recognized social problem.

The old king Nestor turns out to be the very model of an aggressive host. He literally "grabs" (*Od.* 3.345) two guests about to leave for the night and insists on putting them up, explaining that their departure would suggest that he, Nestor, was

> a man totally without bedding, a pauper who does not have many cloaks and blankets in his house for himself and his *xeinoi* to sleep under in comfort. But I *do* have beautiful cloaks and blankets (3.346-51).

On this occasion, his hospitality is welcome, but later a hurried traveller decides not even to go near Nestor's house, aware of his "keenness" as a host (15.200-1). He is urged by Nestor's own son to make tracks:

> I know how overbearing is his disposition; he will not leave you alone, but he will come out here himself to invite you. And I do not think that

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[23] Malinowski (1922) 473. In some parts of the 'ring,' inland *kula* may be accompanied by ritual acts of violence (*youlawada*), whereby the yam house of the chief of the village receiving the gift is damaged by throwing stones and spears at it, in another show of superiority: ibid. 486; Strathern (1983), 84.

[24] Also: *Od.* 1.309; 11.350-2; 15.75-85, 335-9. For different levels of hospitality, see below, section 5, esp. at n. 61.

> he will return empty-handed, for he will certainly become very angry (15.209-14).

The only explanation for such behaviour in a man otherwise portrayed as the soul of discretion must be that generosity in hospitality, surely including the presentation of gifts as *xénia*, is seen as an important way of displaying wealth and establishing superior status.

A Melanesian audience would recognize the attitude, but not the manners. Homeric hosts are supposed to accompany their gifts with "gentle words" (15.53) rather than challenges. Gifts are not 'thrown' down, but placed directly in the hands of the recipient, or carefully stowed by the host in his guest's ship or chariot, and the nearest anyone comes to boasting about gifts given away is to list them, or to note their value and beauty. The standard comment that the gift will help the recipient "remember" the giver "every day" emphasizes its role as a souvenir rather than as a valuable which requires a return. Remarkably, the chief donor at a particularly lavish presentation actually undercuts his own generosity by announcing: "We will recoup our expenses later by making a collection amongst our people, for it would be hard for one man to have to do a favour for free."[25]

Guests, for their part, do not accept gifts passively. It is considered a sign of "good blood" (*Od.* 4.611) for a Greek guest to show an active interest in what is presented to him. "As for the gift, whatever you may give me, let it be treasure," rather than livestock, says one (4.600). "As for the gift which your heart may tell you to give me, take a very beautiful one and give it to me to carry home," says another (1.316-17). A third tells his hosts that, "if you were to give me splendid gifts," as they are proposing to do, he would not mind staying with them for a full year (11.356-7). It is even acceptable to ask for a parting gift before one is offered. One man introduces himself with the words: "we have come ... to see if you would provide us with hospitality, or even give us a gift besides, as is the custom among *xeinoi*" (9.266-8). A traveller may be described as "asking for

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[25] *Od.* 13.14-15. Remembering the host: 4.591-92; 8.430-2; 15.54-5, 126-8. List of gifts: 24.273-9. Descriptions of value and beauty: 1.311-13; 4.589-91; 4.613-17 = 15.113-17. There is thus little justification for the claim that "heroes boasted of the gifts... they had given as signs of their prowess": Finley (1956) 121. Gifts passed from hand to hand: e.g. 15.120-30; 8.406; stowed into vehicle: 10.19-24; 13.17-22; 15.51-2, 75.

gifts" everywhere (19.273), and the difference between a beggar and a respected visitor is that the latter is "asking for swords and cauldrons," rather than for scraps of food (17.219-22).

Gratitude may be expressed in some form or other. Although no one ever says "thank you" in so many words, at the very least guests "rejoice" when they receive gifts, as their hosts remind them they should: "May you come home rejoicing on my account" (*Od.* 15.128). The more articulate respond with good wishes: "May the gods grant you every kind of excellence, and may nothing bad occur among your people" (13.45-6). One may even respond with a straightforward: "You shall have something in return" (1.318).[26] Guests thus freely acknowledge generosity and the obligation under which it places them.

However, their lack of humility by comparison with recipients of *kula* gifts suggests that this obligation is not felt to weigh on them as heavily as it does on a *kula* partner. In cultures where reciprocity plays a dominant role, to express thanks is often regarded as rude, since it is felt to imply that one is "anxious to call it square and terminate the relationship," rather than accept one's indebtedness to the other.[27] Curiously, then, the explicit, if indirect, acknowledgement of the obligation is a sign that it matters less in early Greece than it does in the Pacific or elsewhere. By the same token, though, the absence of more direct expressions of gratitude suggests that the obligation created by a gift is taken more seriously than it is in modern Western culture, where a simple "thanks" often suffices.

Competitive generosity is clearly one of the motivating forces in both *kula* and *xenía*. But whereas the etiquette of *kula*, requiring the giver to be domineering and the recipient to be submissive, involves a conspicuous display of competition, the etiquette of *xenía* suppresses the antagonistic element. Competitiveness may be evident in Greece in the undue insistence of some hosts, but it is criticized. Accordingly, hosts do not overtly boast of their generosity, and guests show little sign of embarrassment at their indebtedness. Conversely, while the etiquette of *kula* conceals the fact that it is at least as much of a source

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[26] Told to rejoice: also 1.311; 8.394-5; rejoicing: 15.130. Good wishes: 13.59-62; 6.180-2; 14.53-4, 440-1. Explicit promise of return: cf. 24.284-6.

[27] Foster (1961) 25; cf. Pitt-Rivers (1992) 218 and n. 3. A parallel to Trobriand behaviour: Firth (1929) 410.

of prestige to acquire gifts as it is to give them away, the etiquette of *xenía* makes little attempt to hide that visitors have a positive interest obtaining rich gifts.

3. *Competitive greed and the joys of ownership*

Even as they sit and wait, "chewing betel-nut stolidly, and ... to a superficial glance quite impassive," Trobrianders on an overseas expedition are "watching stealthily the pots being brought out to be presented to them [as *taloi*], and still more eagerly awaiting the giving of *kula* gifts." The prime, if not sole, aim of an overseas *kula* voyage is in fact to acquire as many shells as possible, and each man aims to acquire more shells than any other member of the expedition. "It is carried out," said Malinowski, "in fulfilment of a deep desire to possess." One of his successors made the point even more emphatically: "It is based on great having, not on generous giving."[28] In this respect *kula* stands in sharp contrast to other famous forms of gift-exchange, such as the *moka* of the Highlands of Papua New Guinea or the *potlatch* of Northwestern American Indians, where it is indeed above all competitive giving which brings prestige.[29]

Myth and ritual make it very plain that the object of the exercise is to become famous for acquiring many shell valuables. The mythical founder of *kula* sets the standard:

> He went to Gawa and Iwa, and as soon as he appeared, *pu-pu* went the conch shells, and everybody gave him the *bagi* necklaces. He returned to his village, full of glory and *kula* spoils. Then he went to Duau, and obtained again an enormous amount of armshells.

Spells uttered continually during the expedition repeat again and again a number of set phrases predicting in aggressive terms overwhelming success in acquisition.

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[28] Quotations: Malinowski (1922) 274, 510 (see also e.g. 359-60); Fortune (1932), 234 n. Malinowski remained of two minds about whether giving or having mattered more, and elsewhere he stresses the element of generosity (ibid., 97-8, 173-5, 353). All subsequent studies are agreed that in *kula* the desire to possess outweighs the desire to give: Fortune (1963), esp. 209-18; Damon (1980); (1983); (1990); Leach (1983) 12.

[29] Contrast with *potlatch*: Fortune (1932) 234; with *moka*: Strathern (1983) 78, 80, 87. These contrasts were overlooked by Mauss (1925) 20-9.

> I shall *kula*. I shall rob my *kula*. I shall steal my *kula*. I shall pilfer my *kula*.
> I shall *kula* so as to make my canoe sink.
> I shall *kula* so as to make my outrigger go under.
> My fame is like thunder, my steps are like earthquake !

Just before arriving home, the fleet is mustered and all display their haul of gifts. Men walk up and down admiring and counting the shell ornaments obtained. "When a canoe has obtained no *veguwa* at all, this means great shame and distress" for its crew. Finally, as the fleet approaches the beach, its success is trumpeted by blasts on conch shells, one for each valuable won—just as earlier the hosts had blown the conch shell for every valuable given.[30]

Receiving is thus at least as much of a source of prestige as giving. It is, moreover, a more immediate source of prestige, for despite the display of superiority by the donor in the presentation of a gift, his 'name' is said to 'go down' as he parts with his valuable, while that of the recipient 'goes up.' It is only in the long run that generosity pays off in terms of acquiring a great reputation: not until the recipient in turn passes the valuable on to a third party does the name of the original donor 'go up' again.[31]

The fierce competition which pervades *kula* is concerned almost exclusively with the fame to be won through acquisition rather than generosity. Tellingly, the founder of *kula* himself was killed by jealous rivals, while another mythical figure was left stranded by travelling companions resentful of his success in obtaining a rare shell. In real life, men resort to magic to bring rivals bad luck in securing gifts from their partners, or indeed to kill rivals who have had good luck. "He got from my debtor the necklace which my debtor should have given to me in return for an armshell I had given him before. ... Next day he was dead." Neither kind of magic is used to prevent others from being more successfully generous than oneself.[32]

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[30] Quotations from Malinowski (1922) 307, 341 (similar spells: 336-49, 198-205), 375.

[31] Damon (1980) 280; (1983) 320; (1990) 90-3. For 'fame' as the aim in *kula*, see also Munn (1986).

[32] Malinowski (1922) 307, 323 (myths); Fortune (1932) 227 (bad luck magic), 169 (lethal magic); cf. 210. Nor is magic used against partners who fail to make the expected return, as Malinowski (1922) 359-360, suggested: the Trobrianders themselves have been at pains to point out that this is not done: Leach (1983) 12.

A similar emphasis on competitive acquisition is abundantly evident in Greek epic. One host offers gifts and a meal which, he says, will bring his guest 'prestige' (*kudos*) and 'glory' (*aglaiê*) as well as sustain him during his journey home (*Od.* 15.78-9). The guest, Telemachus, manages to combine an acknowledgement of the generosity shown to him with evident pride in the gifts he has acquired, when he tells his host that he hopes to tell his father at home "how I came from here having received all your hospitality, and how I am bringing many fine treasures" (15.156-9). The poet subtly indicates what effect these gifts will have: rather than record Telemachus' admiration for the gifts he receives, which would have highlighted the generosity of the giver, he notes that Telemachus' travelling companion "looked at them all with wonder in his heart" (15.131-2), which suggests the admiration third parties will feel at the good fortune of Telemachus in obtaining them.

The generous host, Menelaus, is himself proud of the gifts he has received from others.

> There may be someone to rival me in property, but then again there may not be. For I went through much, and wandered far and wide, and in the eighth year I brought it here in my ships, having wandered in Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt. I visited the Ethiopians and Sidonians and Erembi and Libya ... gathering great wealth (4.80-90).

A good many, if not all, of these riches came to him as gifts from foreign hosts (*Od.* 4.125-32; 4.617-19 =15.117-19). He even proposes to repeat these travels on a smaller scale for the benefit of Telemachus, offering to take his guest on a tour of Greece: "No man will send us away just like that, but he will give us something, at least one thing to take home, be it a well-made bronze tripod or cauldron, or a pair of mules, or a golden goblet" (15.80-5).

Extended travel abroad, partly or wholly for the sake of collecting gifts from *xeinoi*, is sufficiently common to be used as a plausible excuse for lengthy absences from home. Thus Telemachus' father, Odysseus, returning home incognito, pretends to be a Cretan who has spent seven years of his long and adventurous career "gathering great wealth among the Egyptians—for they all gave gifts" (*Od.* 14.285-6). In one of his other guises, he claims to have heard that Odysseus is travelling in Thesprotia, actively soliciting gifts:

> He is bringing many fine treasures, asking for them [*aitizon*] up and down the country ... He might have been here [at home] long ago, but it

> seemed more profitable to him [*kerdion*] to travel widely across the earth and collect riches. In this way Odysseus surpasses other mortals in his concern with much that is profitable [*polla kerdea*], and no one else could rival him. ...
> [I saw] all the riches which Odysseus collected: such treasures ... might feed anyone else for ten generations (19.270-95; cf. 14.321-6).

Odysseus lives up to his self-image in the course of his 'real' travels, when he tells his hosts that he would stay with them for a whole year if they promised to send him home with "splendid gifts": "I would be willing to do even that, and it would be much more profitable to come to my own fatherland with my hands better filled, and I would be more respected [*aidoioteros*] and better liked [*philteros*] by all men who saw me return to Ithaca" (11.356-61). There is no irony in these words. Odysseus' willingness to postpone, for the sake of returning a richer man, the homecoming he has been seeking desperately for nearly ten years is to be regarded as one more proof of his famous self-control: he does not allow his emotional needs to stand in the way of an opportunity for self-enrichment.

Odysseus' and Menelaus' pride in outdoing all others, and the confident prediction that gifts accumulated abroad will bring respect and popularity at home, show that the acquisition of *xénia* is a source of prestige and an object of competition. The contrast between the repeated and explicit commendation of travel in pursuit of 'profitable' gifts, on the one hand, and the at best implicit pride and restrained competition in generosity to *xeinoi* on the other, should leave no doubt that success in winning gifts counts for more than success in giving them away.

It has been said that Homer's heroes seek more wealth only in order to give more of it away,[33] and one might imagine that this claim is supported by the Melanesian parallel, since *kula* valuables are, after all, normally given to a third party soon after they have been acquired. But what is in fact remarkable about *kula* is that participants are keen to hold on to their valuables as much as is possible within the rules of circulation.

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[33] Finley (1956) 122-3: "The circulation of treasure was as essential a part of the heroic life as its acquisition; and it was this movement ... that set that life apart from any other life of accumulation."

Malinowski noted the Trobrianders' intense joy in even temporary possession. "To possess a *veguwa* is exhilarating, comforting, soothing in itself. They will look at a *veguwa* and handle it for hours." A dying man may be surrounded by *kula* valuables, his own and those of his relatives: "they put it on his forehead, they put in on his chest, they rub his belly and ribs with it, they dangle some of the *veguwa* before his nose," all in an effort to make his a happier death.[34] Given the great sentimental as well as material value of the shells, it is not surprising that their temporary owners aim to possess them again someday when they have been duly circulated. As a result, there is a marked trend towards establishing fixed 'paths' (*keda*) along which the top valuables travel. As few as seven or eight people may form such a circuit, and by passing along a certain armshell or necklace only amongst themselves ensure that they will each own it for a while every ten years or so. The creation of a 'path'—a phenomenon that appears to have escaped Malinowski's attention—thus allows a form of collective ownership without breaking the norm of reciprocity.[35]

Kula shells can in fact be retained in private ownership as well, as Malinowski again failed to note. If a shell valuable is acquired outside *kula* exchange and subsequently introduced into the 'ring,' it remains the property of whoever first put it into circulation. The original owner is entitled to remove it from circulation when it comes back to him, or to take as his private property any shell he might receive in exchange for it. A prominent player in *kula* may privately own between 3 and 7 such shells, called *kitoum* or *kitoma.* He can legitimately hold on to these "for fifty years," or sell them, or even destroy them. One community has a habit of showing off its high status by actually burying *kitoum* with the dead, although admittedly this is regarded as an extravagance by all their neighbours.[36]

In Greek epic, as in the Trobriands, men take an almost sensual pleasure in wealth. One warrior proposes to go home and "delight in the possessions" accumulated by his father (*Iliad* 9.400); another chooses not to leave home in the first place, but to stay and "feel delight, for Zeus gave him great wealth" (*Iliad* 23.298-9). The verb

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[34] Malinowski (1922) 512-23.

[35] Damon (1980) 274-5; (1983) 319; cf. Leach (1983) 25.

[36] Damon (1980) 281-2; (1983) 325; (1990) 92-3 and 77-9 (burial of *kitoum*). The existence of *kitoma* was first noted by Weiner (1976) 129, 180-1; cf. (1988) 149.

used for enjoying one's property, *terpesthai*, can equally be applied to the "delight" taken in good company, wine, song, and sex.[37] Even those who are generous with their wealth keep large quantities of treasure hoarded in storerooms or on display in the dining hall.[38] Some gifts acquired abroad are indeed passed on, but since guests are expected to remember their hosts "every day" as they make use of their presents back home, it is obviously assumed that gifts as a rule remain in the hands of the recipients. When Odysseus says of the gifts which he has collected, "may the gods make them prosper for me" (*Od.* 13.40-2), or boasts that they could "feed anyone else for ten generations," he is clearly taking for granted that one normally keeps the bulk of what one has received, and passes it down to one's descendants. In Homeric *xenía*, as in *kula*, then, the ultimate goal of acquisition is indeed possession.

The story of Alcmeon strongly suggests that the same acquisitive approach to a relationship ideally based on mutual generosity existed outside the world of the epics, too, and this is confirmed by a good deal of other evidence for Greeks accepting from foreign rulers immensely valuable gifts which they have no means or intention of repaying in kind. A fourth-century orator sums up the attitude: any man given an opportunity to ingratiate himself with a wealthy and powerful *xenos* would put all his resources at the other's disposal "to do him a favour and *to get back more*."[39] Yet while the attitude remains essentially the same, the means of pursuing profit in *xenía* change.

4. *Acquisitive ideology: the winning charm of the aristocracy*

It is not immediately obvious how there could be room for competititve greed within a reciprocal relationship. For any shell received in *kula*, one is supposed to return another of equivalent value in due course, so that no material gain ought to accrue to either party.

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[37] Company: e.g. *Od.* 4.597-8; wine: e.g. 1.258; song: e.g. 8.91; sex: e.g. *Iliad* 9.36-7.

[38] Display: Van Wees (1995) 149-54. Storerooms: *Od.* 2.337-47; 21.8-14, 42-62 (of Odysseus, containing gold, bronze, iron, and chests full of cloth, as well as vintage wine and grain); 15.99-108 (of Menelaus).

[39] Lysias 19.23, discussed by Herman (1987) 96-7.

Nevertheless, the goal is to have ever more, and more valuable, armshells and necklaces pass through one's hands, and to acquire as many *kitoum* as possible. [40] In the exchange of *xénia,* some form of equivalence is required, too. Nevertheless, men seek gifts in the expectation of making a fortune. How is this possible ?

In both cultures, it is claimed that the secret is to stimulate exceptional generosity in one's friends overseas. Indigenous notions as to how to achieve this are remarkably similar. As will quickly become obvious, the pretty picture which emerges represents an ideal, not the full and less attractive truth about the mechanics of gift-gathering.

The key to coaxing presents out of a *kula* partner, or so it is said, is to make oneself physically attractive to him. To that end, an overseas expedition will come to a halt just before arriving at its destination to allow the men to don their make-up.

> They all wash in sea-water, and rub themselves with ... medicated leaves. Coconuts are broken, scraped, medicated, and the skin is rubbed with the mess, which greases it and gives it a shining surface. A comb is chanted over, and the hair teased out with it. Then ... they draw red ornamental designs on their faces, while others ... draw similar lines in black. The fine-smelling mint plant, which has been chanted over at home before starting, is taken out of its little receptacle where it has been preserved in coconut oil. The herb is inserted into the armlets, while the few drops of oil are smeared over the body.[41]

The application of such make-up and scent, and the uttering of so-called *mwasila* magic spells throughout the process, are believed to transform the men's looks. At home, they say, "we are ugly," but they have turned "beautiful" by the time they meet their friends abroad. The purpose of the change is to become so irresistible that the exchange partner cannot help but be generous with his gifts. This is made quite plain: "Our partner looks at us, sees our faces are beautiful; he throws the *veguwa* at us."[42]

The archetypal transformation is that of the mythical Kasabwaybwayreta, who with his son and grandson set out to obtain the

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[40] For 'expansion' as the goal in *kula*, see especially Damon (1983) 329-37, and Weiner (1988) 154-5.

[41] Malinowski (1922) 335.

[42] Malinowski (1922) 336.

famous necklace *Monitor Lizard*. His son tried first, but failed to persuade his exchange partner to let him have it. The old man, meanwhile, secretly "took off his hair, his gray hair; his wrinkled skin, it remained in the canoe. He rose, he went, ... he received the valuable necklace as a gift, for he was already a beautiful man." A second version of the myth, recorded elsewhere, is even more explicit: "his beauty moves them. Their hearts tremble with desire for him. They give him *Monitor Lizard*." Returning to the canoe, the old man again "donned the wrinkles, the gray hairs," and when his son came back soon afterwards, he was astonished to find the necklace in his father's possession: "I am a chief, I am beautiful. I have not obtained that valuable ... Would this wrinkled old man have obtained the necklace? No, indeed!." The myth, according to one ethnographer, is recounted "*ad nauseam*."[43]

When asked about Malinowski's representation of them, Trobrianders have said that he overemphasized the role of magic in winning gifts. They themselves prefer to stress natural beauty and charm as decisive factors, alongside rhetorical skill in persuading *kula* partners.[44] Beauty magic does, however, clearly play some part.

Even in well-established exchange relations an element of distrust and fear remains. When there has been a recent death in the community, a visiting expedition is received with a display of hostility, which has to be overcome by ritual means before exchange can even start.[45] All this conspires to make success in persuading a partner to make a gift of his best shell ornaments seem even more of a triumph of personal skill and charm.

Trobrianders would have no difficulty appreciating the story of Odysseus' reception by the Phaeacians. Washed ashore after a shipwreck, Odysseus encounters a princess. For many a fairy-tale hero, that would have been an instant answer to all his problems, but it is not so easy in Homer. Odysseus must consider the risk of provoking

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[43] So Fortune (1932) 224. Detailed discussion of the second version of the myth, current in Dobu, and the great significance attached to it: ibid., 216-30. The main narrative is taken from Malinowski (1922) 322-3; compare the related myths of Gere'u (307) and Tokosikuna (308-10).

[44] Leach (1983) 12. Some scope for rhetoric is indicated by Malinowski (1922) 350.

[45] Malinowski (1922) 92, 274, 345-9; see also Fortune (1932) 215.

her "anger," and after careful deliberation decides that the "more profitable" (*kerdion*) way of approaching her is to remain at a distance and deliver a "soft and cunning speech" (*Od.* 6.141-8), which duly wins her over. This is only the beginning. As he washes, and rubs himself with olive oil, he undergoes a supernatural transformation. His patron goddess Athena

> made him bigger and stouter to look at, and let his hair fall from his head in thick curls, like the flowers of the hyacinth. And just as a craftsman might cast gold over silver ..., so she poured charm (*charis*) over his head and shoulders. He then sat down, ... gleaming with beauty and charm (6.229-37).

The addition of 'charm' to an already extraordinary beauty is of vital importance: the hero's appearance must be not merely impressive, but also prepossessing, 'winsome,' so that strangers will *like* him and treat him generously.[46]

The princess is swept off her feet, and lets slip that she is available for marriage, but the local men remain suspicious. Athena makes Odysseus invisible and tells him not to look at anyone, and ask no questions, "so that none of the great-hearted Phaeacians would challenge him ... For they do not take much to strangers, and do not lovingly extend hospitality to one who arrives from abroad" (*Od.* 7.15-17, 30-3). This characterization of the Phaeacians has surprised some scholars, who know that these people end up showing great hospitality to their guest,[47] but there are in fact repeated indications of mutual suspicion and antagonism. First, the queen ventures to doubt Odysseus' claim that he is a castaway (7.233-9). Next, the poet

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[46] MacLachlan (1993) 31-2, discusses the significance in this passage of *charis* as added 'social' beauty, which "moves its beholder to respond." Our term 'charm'—itself of course related to *charis*—seems to me to have precisely this sense, and to provide the link between *charis* as 'grace, beauty' and *charis* as 'favour' which MacLachlan finds it difficult to see (147-9). Odysseus is given supernatural 'charm' again for his meeting with Penelope, surely because she proves very difficult to convince of his identity, and he needs the extra resource of 'charm' to win her round (*Od.* 23.153-63). His son Telemachus is easily convinced, and for him Odysseus only needs to return to his old self, without turning on the divine charm as well (16.172-6).

[47] See for instance the discussion by Reece (1993) 101-21, who finds "the ambiguity of the Phaeacians' hospitality" so striking that he can only explain it as the product of an incongruous, but "intriguing" blend of a standard hospitality scene and the folk-tale motif of the arrival and testing of "a strange suitor to the hand of the princess."

announces that Odysseus is to be put to "many tests" by the Phaeacians, and he is in fact aggressively challenged to compete in games to prove that he is a true aristocrat. In winning the competition, he barely avoids turning his defeated hosts against him (8.22-3, 158-64, 193-211). His final success in winning over the Phaeacians is marked by king Alcinoos' announcement that no one who has heard Odysseus' story thinks that he is a liar (11.362-7). To the modern reader, that goes without saying, and the king's protestation seems awkward to the point of being offensive, but in its context it is meant as a compliment. Homer is evidently at pains to emphasize how difficult it is for a stranger to gain the trust of his hosts.[48]

The guest, for his part, never fully reciprocates this trust. Afraid that, even as they are escorting them home, the Phaeacians might steal back what they have given him, Odysseus seals with a special knot the chest full of gifts and anxiously counts his belongings the moment he comes home (*Od.* 8.442-8; 13.215-19). This portrayal of tension-ridden relations between host and guest is designed to show the audience that it is never a foregone conclusion that the Phaeacians will ultimately be generous. It takes a man of Odysseus' exceptional qualities to win their friendship and gifts.

If Odysseus' first physical transformation was enough to assure him of basic hospitality, it takes much more to extract an offer of gifts. For a start, on the occasion of his first public appearance before the assembled Phaeacians, he is transformed once again.

> Athena poured over his head and shoulders a supernatural charm (*charis*), and made him bigger and stouter to the eye, so that he might become liked, feared, and respected (*philos ... deinos t'aidoios te*) among the Phaeacians, and complete successfully the many tests to which the Phaeacians put him. (*Od.* 8.18-23)

Our first thought is that, if there are tests to be passed, Odysseus will need strength and confidence, rather than good looks. One commentator suggests that a description of the hero's improved exterior is the poet's way of indicating growing confidence, "since the epic has no diction with which to describe a person's mental state

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[48] Compare Eumaios' dismissive response to strangers' tales: *Od.* 14.165-70, 363-409.

independent of his outer appearance."[49] But this is not true: Homeric gods are forever inspiring 'spirit,' 'courage,' and 'strength,' but only rarely alter people's looks. The Trobriand parallel, and the poet's repeated reference to 'charm,' show that, whatever goes on in Odysseus' mind, his appearance does indeed matter a great deal in itself: the Phaeacians will be hospitable to him because his physical stature inspires fear and respect, and because his physical charm makes them well-disposed him.

Subsequent events prove Odysseus' strength and skill, but gifts are not forthcoming until he demonstrates that his charm also extends to his manners, by proclaiming that his hosts are the best dancers in the world: "I am struck with awe as I watch" (*Od.* 8.384). Alcinoos "rejoices" at the compliment, declares his guest "a most sensible man" (385-8), and proposes that he himself and the twelve other leading princes of the country should each give Odysseus a tunic, a cloak, and a talent of gold (8.389-93). It adds up, but for each individual giver this is but a modest gift.

Greater success is to come when the mystery guest finally reveals his identity and relates his fantastic adventures. When he suddenly stops halfway through his story, and announces it is time for bed, "no one made a noise in the silence: they were all under his spell" (*kêlêthmos*, *Od.* 11.333-4). Suddenly the queen exclaims:

> Phaeacians, what do you think of this man, *his looks and stature*, and his well-balanced mind ? ... Let us not send him home in haste, and let us not restrict like this our gifts to one who needs them (11.335-40).

The king agrees to "complete all gift-giving" (*pasan dôtinên*, 11.351-2), and after keeping everyone spellbound again until the very end of his tale (13.1-2), Odysseus receives a very valuable gift indeed from the leading princes: "a large tripod and cauldron per man" (13.13-14). As the queen's words show, it is not so much the realization that they are entertaining a famous ruler and warrior which stimulates the Phaeacians' generosity, as the personal qualities displayed by their guest. It is the magic of Odysseus' storytelling which makes his hosts take another look at him, literally and figuratively, and feel that one so

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[49] Hainsworth (1988), ad 8.18-20.

impressive and attractive in physique and personality deserves far greater gifts.

The Phaeacian episode does not stand alone. Elsewhere, too, Odysseus is referred to as a popular visitor the world over. "How much liked and respected (*philos kai timios*) is this man by all people whose cities and lands he visits," his companions say (*Od.* 10.38-9), and in one of his disguises he slyly compliments himself in a gratuitous mention of the gifts which *xeinoi* might well have given Odysseus, "since he was dear to many; few were his equal" (19.237-40). In another guise, he lists the lavish gifts which he allegedly gave Odysseus, whom he claims to remember fondly: "I once offered hospitality to a man who came to my very own fatherland, and of foreigners who live far way no one better liked (*philiôn*) ever came to my house" (24.266-8).

In short, Odysseus must stand beside Kasabwaybwayreta as the embodiment of the successful guest, a man who conquers the hostility and reluctance of strangers and comes away laden with precious gifts. In both cultures, what such a guest needs—apart from enough olive or coconut oil to make his body gleam attractively—is the ability to enchant an audience with his words, personal charm, and supernaturally enhanced beauty.[50]

Beauty is supposedly class-bound: Trobriand chiefs and Homeric princes are thought to be physically far more attractive than common men. Hence Kasabwaybwayreta's son's boast "I am a chief, I am beautiful." Hence also the *mwasila* spell spoken over the red face paint: "My head is made bright, my face flashes. I have acquired a beautiful shape, like that of a chief."[51] So too, in Homer, one can always tell a man of princely status by his good looks, while the only common man whose appearance is described is startlingly ugly.[52] Men of aristocratic birth are thus credited with innate charms which give them a much better chance than others of success in establishing and exploiting exchange relations. Accordingly, the successes scored by

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[50] Among the differences between the two heroes, one worth pointing out is that Odysseus applies his charm to making *new* friends, whereas Kasabwaybwayreta, and the real participants in *kula*, more often apply their charms to outdoing rivals for the gifts of established exchange partners.

[51] Malinowski (1922) 339.

[52] Van Wees (1992) 78-83.

Telemachus during his travels are due in part to the looks he has inherited from his father Odysseus. He and his travelling companion are offered hospitality in Sparta on the strength of their "looking like the offspring of great Zeus" (*Od.* 4.27), and their host observes, as he serves them food and drink: "you are the offspring of men who are sceptre-bearing princes raised by Zeus, for commoners (*kakoi*) do no beget the likes of you" (4.62-4).

If there were any doubt that the coincidence of beauty and noble birth is primarily an ideological construct, rather than the result of eugenics or higher standards of living, it will be dispelled with one look at Malinowski's catalogue of the chiefs of Sinaketa. Only the highest-ranking of these men is rated "physically quite pleasant looking"; numbers two and three are described as "a shrivelled up, toothless old man, wearing a big native wig" and "a puffed up, unhealthy looking, bald and toothless old man," respectively. Next in rank is "a queer old man, spare and lame, but with an extremely dignified and deliberate manner."[53] Evidently, natural and supernatural charm do not work their magic on everyone, and for all its prominence in mythology and ideology, personal charisma is not in practice a dominant means of attracting gifts in either the Trobriands or Greece.

5. *The realities of acquisition: enterprise and sharp practice*

Among the stable relationships, fair exchange, and successful beauty magic of Malinowski's neat picture of *kula*, two elements of trickery crept in. He noted the existence of *kwoygapani*, "enmeshing magic," brought to bear directly on the partner in order to make him "soft, unsteady in mind, and eager to give *kula* gifts." He also saw that visitors sometimes pretended to be ill in order to inspire sympathy and extract greater gifts.[54] Ten years later, Reo Fortune included an account of *kula* on an island south of the Trobriands in his *Sorcerers of Dobu*, in which he stressed that "sharp practice" was a common phenomenon. Subsequent fieldwork has shown that it is, in fact,

[53] Malinowski (1922) 196-7.
[54] Malinowski (1922) 102, 360-1.

inherent in the system. As *kula* players admit, "the only way to get ahead in the *kula* is to *lie*."[55]

The key to success is the skilful use of credit. The way to expand in *kula* is to create new 'paths' or to insinuate oneself into existing paths. This can be done by presenting a *kitoum*, one's private property and under no obligation to anyone, as an opening gift to partner A, and then using A's return gift to open an exchange with partner B. A much better strategy, however, is to persuade partner A to make the first move and present one with an opening gift, which one in turn uses as an opening gift to partner B, whose return gift ultimately becomes one's return gift to A. In this way, a man can establish himself as a link in the chain of gift-giving without having a single shell to start with. The possibilities for expansion using *kitoum* are limited, since a man never has more than a few of these, whereas the use of credit offers, at least in theory, unlimited scope for building new exchange relationships. One way of getting ahead, then, is to become known as a partner who can be relied upon to produce a good return quickly, and to whom one can therefore safely entrust one's opening gifts.[56]

Competitiveness in *kula* is such that many players deliberately take on more credit than they can repay. They may, for example, extract opening gifts from several exchange partners at once by falsely promising each of them the same shell ornament in return. One lucky partner will in fact receive the promised valuable; the others will have to settle for a lesser return, or wait until their gifts, put to use in exchanges with third parties, eventually produce some other counter-gift which can be passed on to them. They may even receive no return at all. Such manoeuvres, known on Dobu as *wabuwabu*, 'sharp practice,' are the 'lies' without which one cannot succeed in *kula*, and they are indeed far from rare and far from unacceptable. Apart from the disappointed partners, everyone considers it "a great achievement" to bring off such a scam, and for many "success in *wabuwabu* is a matter for pride."[57]

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[55] Damon (1980) 278 = (1983) 330 (emphasis added); Fortune (1932) 214-18.

[56] Weiner (1988), 154-5.

[57] Fortune (1932) 193, 217-18; he himself fell victim to the worst form of *wabuwabu*, 'actual non-payment,' at the hands of a local policeman (234 n.). Sharp practice on Muyuw Island: Damon 1983, 330-2. The result of sharp practice is that "the majority of partnerships ... frequently break up"; the stability seen by Malinowski

Among the contenders in *kula*, those of high birth should find it relatively easy to get ahead in the game without even bending the rules, since these very rules work in their ıvour. As Malinowski noted, in exchange relations between a chief and a commoner, it is always the commoner who is supposed to make the opening gift, and he must let the chief have "the pick of his *veguwa* when he gets a fresh supply." Thus chiefs have presented to them on a plate the credit which other men must strive hard to create for themselves. What is more, "in a village where the headman has the rank of chief or minor chief, the commoners of the lowest rank ... are not supposed to carry on the *kula*" at all.[58] The *kula* success attributed to the greater beauty of chiefs clearly owes a great deal to these rules heavily slanting the competition to their advantage.

Greek ways of making a profit in gift-exchange differ in detail from *kula* strategies; moreover, we will note a difference between epic and later literary evidence which may indicate a historical change. Yet, throughout, strategies for acquisition in *xenía* share with *kula* a reliance on a spirit of enterprise in forging new partnerships, a willingness to resort to deception, and a built-in bias in favour of the élite.

An overseas expedition represents a larger investment and a greater risk in early Greece than it does in the western Pacific. Even in the Trobriands, it requires a good deal of initiative as well as substantial resources to fit out a canoe, find a crew of half a dozen men, and make a journey of perhaps sixty miles or so each way. In Greece, one needs to fit out a sizeable ship, find a crew of up to fifty rowers, and cross distances regularly two or three times as long—much longer still if one travels beyond the Greek world to Egypt, Phoenicia, or other exotic destinations. Such voyages are therefore only for the most daring and energetic, and, unlike in *kula*, chances are that many of the traveller's hosts, especially from more remote parts, will never return the visit or claim their gifts.

The gift-gathering voyages featured in the *Odyssey* are no doubt designed to exploit the opportunities inherent in the situation: the

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really applies only to the circulation of the top valuables, which, as we have seen, tend to be monopolized by a few people and circulate on a fixed path: Fortune (1932) 214; cf. Damon (1980) 275-8.

[58] Malinowski (1922) 91-2, 275, 472-3.

most enterprising of the heroes take a calculated risk by travelling far afield in search of gifts which in theory they must reciprocate but in practice are unlikely to have to return.

These heroes may bend the rules a little to increase their profits further. Although *xenía* is a hereditary relationship, if the beneficiary of a gift or favour dies, his descendants or other remaining kin may get away with not honouring the debt. Odysseus' father, confronted by a man who claims to have lavished gifts on his son, replies that Odysseus, were he still alive, would certainly have repaid him, but that, as it is, Odysseus is dead, and the gifts were given "in vain" (*Od.* 24.283-6).

Conversely, a famous episode in the *Iliad* has Diomedes making a profit at the expense of Glaucus by insisting on the ties of hereditary *xenía* between them. He proposes that they reaffirm the relationship by swapping their suits of armour in an exchange of new gifts of initiation. This sounds innocuous, since two suits of armour would normally be of similar value. The catch is that Glaucus' armour is made of gold and worth a hundred oxen, while Diomedes' armour is of ordinary bronze and worth no more than nine oxen. Nevertheless, Glaucus agrees to the exchange, and the poet comments that "Zeus took away his wits" (*Iliad* 6.230-6). That comment has baffled those who believe that competitive generosity is the norm in early Greece, but it is perfectly straightforward. Just as Trobrianders explain great generosity as the result of magic which has made the giver "unsteady in mind," so Homer can only imagine that Glaucus fell for Diomedes' gambit because he was afflicted by supernaturally-induced stupidity. As for Diomedes himself, his successful resort to sharp practice is evidently regarded as a creditable achievement which ranks alongside his many exploits on the battlefield.[59]

Wealthy aristocrats with time on their hands are obviously in a better position than most to undertake prolonged voyages and seek out the opportunities afforded by *xenía*. Moreover, a correlation exists in the epics between social status and the extent of hospitality received.

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[59] So too, Von Reden (1995) 26, and Traill (1989); also Donlan (1989c), who, however, suggests that there is an element of intended asymmetry on Glaucus' part, too. An attempt to explain the episode in terms of competitive generosity: Calder (1984) 31-4, who resorts to attributing the comment about Glaucus losing his wits to a Geometric poet not understanding a Mycenaean custom (ibid., 34).

Not only is an explicit distinction made between the obviously poor stranger who can at best "ask for scraps" and the seemingly respectable visitor who can "ask for swords and cauldrons" (*Od.* 17.219-22), but elsewhere the 'better' guest is distinguished from the 'worse' one and it is implied that the better guest ought to be treated more generously (20.131-4). When Odysseus comes home incognito, looking like a vagrant, he is at first expected to sit on the threshold and beg for his food, but as he comes to be better respected he is allowed to sit inside, on a stool, and is allotted his own share of food and drink; ultimately he is even promised some modest gifts.[60] Menelaus' offer to take Telemachus on a tour of Greece indicates that these conventions of hierarchical hospitality are consciously exploited: the idea behind it is presumably that Menelaus' high rank will ensure that all their hosts give gifts more generously than they would do if the young, less high-born, and little-known Telemachus were to pay a visit on his own.

If Homeric *xenoi*, then, do not necessarily regard one another as social equals by virtue of their relationship, it is conceivable that some form of 'asymmetrical' or 'hierarchical' reciprocity prevailed between them. That is to say, the superior *xenos* might be able to 'pull rank' and demand rich gifts without being obliged to return their equivalent in kind. There is no direct evidence for this, but it is certainly a common notion in early Greece that one's 'fair' share in the distribution of wealth or power depends on one's social status: 'good' men deserve more than their inferiors.[61] Perhaps the vagueness of the epics about what constitutes a 'good return' for gifts of hospitality might be taken as a tacit admission that in *xenía*, too, fairness depends on the relative status of the parties to the exchange. If so, men of high rank would not need to travel very far to collect a fortune in gifts, but could afford to tour a neighbouring region and rely on their superior status to extract gifts which they would not have to return in full, or at all.[62]

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[60] Van Wees (1992) 235.

[61] For the history of this notion, see Harvey (1965).

[62] This might account for Odysseus' travels in next-door Thesprotia and Menelaus' proposed tour of mainland Greece. For the idea that hospitality could thus be exploited like a 'racket,' see Walcot (1970) 82; Van Wees (1992) 233-7. Qviller (1995) 258, claims that there are numerous historical parallels for such a custom, but

As Trobriand chiefs do in *kula*, Homeric princes thus appear to enjoy certain inherent advantages in their gift-gathering efforts. That the epics prefer not to elaborate on these is no surprise, given that the prevailing ideology attributes successful acquisition to the exceptional personal charms of the aristocracy.

Outside the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the picture is rather different. One constant, though, is the large part played in the lives of archaic Greek aristocrats by *xeinoi* and extended overseas travel. A sixth-century aphorism, variously attributed to the poet Theognis and to the poet and lawgiver Solon, defines the 'prosperous' or 'fortunate' man (*olbios*) as one who has "dear children, hooved horses, hunting dogs, and *xeinoi* abroad."[63] If having a network of guest-friendships is as much a prerequisite for the good life as owning dogs and horses, by implication foreign travel is on a par with hunting and riding as a typical upper-class pursuit.

A widely-current story told how Solon himself left his native Athens to travel abroad for ten years, and although there are touches of legend in this tale, fragments of Solon's own poems confirm that he spent time in Egypt and in Cyprus, where he appears to have stayed as the guest of Philokypros, one of the local rulers. The story attributes to Solon an ulterior political motive for absenting himself from home, but claims that his official excuse was simply a desire to "see the world."[64] The same motivation is attributed to a number of Greeks who visited Egypt at the time of the Persian invasion of that country in 525 BC: according to Herodotus' *Histories*, many Greeks made the trip, "some presumably to trade, and others to serve in the army, but there were also some who went to see the country itself, and one of those was Syloson," brother of the ruler of Samos. Taken together, poetry and anecdotal evidence thus support the conclusion that

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unfortunately every instance cited by his source (Kobishchanow [1987]) concerns rulers touring their *own* territory and raising what amounts to tribute from their subjects in gifts, rather than soliciting gifts abroad from people over whom they have no formal power.

[63] Theognis 1253-4; Solon F 23 West. The version attributed to Solon speaks of a *xenos* in the singular, perhaps because the line was part of a poem praising one particular foreign friend (cf. Herodotus 5.113).

[64] Solon, FF 19 and 28 West. Story: Herodotus 1.29-33 is the earliest version and gives 'seeing the world' (*theoria*) as the formal reason; later versions add *trade* to sightseeing ([Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 11), or mention trade alone (Plutarch *Solon* 25-28). See also Plato *Timaeus* 21e-22a.

aristocrats would often spend time abroad staying with *xenoi*, old and new.[65]

It seems likely enough that the prospect of receiving presents from one's hosts helped stimulate the general upper-class interest in seeing the world, but if gifts were given, they were apparently treated as a fringe benefit rather than as the main attraction of travel. Significantly, there is no hint in archaic or classical sources of blatant gift-gathering enterprises in the epic mould. One might conclude that such enterprises are a fiction of legend, but the way in which Trobriand mythology reflects very closely the real ideals and practices of *kula* suggests that the epic version of *xenía*, too, is formed in the image of contemporary customs. The change in emphasis from extracting gifts to seeing the world on one's travels is therefore probably better explained in terms of a historical development which made the idea of overt exploitation of *xenoi* less acceptable.

Such a development is further suggested by a moralizing tale, set in the archaic age, which rejects the kind of manipulation of reciprocity acceptable to Homer: divine retribution fell upon a Spartan named Glaucus and caused his family to become extinct merely because he had *intended* to deny his debt to a deceased *xenos* when the latter's descendants came to recover it. Tangible evidence of the same attitude is the introduction of *symbola*, tokens by which one could prove one's identity as another's *xenos* and which could be passed on to descendants, relatives, or friends. The innovation, first referred to in poetry of the sixth or possibly late seventh century BC, indicates a concern to reduce the scope for escaping obligations, while simultaneously enabling a wider extension of networks of *xenía*.[66]

The most plausible explanation for the change in attitude is that contacts across the boundaries of Greek city-states intensified and stabilized in the course of the seventh and sixth centuries BC to such

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[65] Syloson: Herodotus 3.139. It has been plausibly argued that in archaic Greece young men between the ages of 20 and 30 might spend a good deal of time travelling in search of wealth before settling down as landowners or farmers: Humphreys (1978) 163-8; cf. Bravo (1984) 121. Trade and raiding are generally named as the means by which wealth is acquired: I would suggest that gifts from *xeinoi* might also have constituted a source of wealth.

[66] Glaucus: Herodotus 6.86; for rejection of deceit between *xeinoi*, see also Herodotus 4.154. *Symbola*: earliest references in Theognis 1150; *Hymn to Hermes* 526-8; see Herman (1987) 62-7; Gauthier (1972) 65-73.

an extent that aristocrats would not only meet their *xeinoi* quite regularly - at the growing number of panhellenic festivals, for a start - but would also come to rely on their favours much more often in matters of importance, including internal power struggles. Increasing interdependence between guest-friends, beyond the level attested in the epics, and far beyond anything found in *kula* partnerships, would mean rising pressure to avoid any element of manipulation or exploitation in the relationship.

Yet greed does not disappear from guest-friendship; it is merely confined to relations with more distant guest-friends, the non-Greeks and marginal Greeks already targeted by acquisitive travellers in the *Odyssey*. In the archaic age, the rulers of Egypt and of the Near Eastern kingdoms were happy to conclude relations of *xenía* with Greek aristocrats able to offer military or political support; the Greeks, for their part, were happy to accept extremely generous gifts and favours from such friends. Tradition had it that in 664 BC pharaoh Psamtik I seized power with the aid of Ionian Greeks whom he "made his friends"; that they were *xenoi* is shown by an inscription from the early sixth century featuring a Greek named after Psamtik, which implies a relation of *xenía* between his father and that pharaoh. Earlier still, an inscription was carved in an Egyptian statue set up in Priene by one Pedon, who evidently fought for Psamtik and may just possibly have been one of his original Greek *xeinoi*, illustrating the kind of lavish gifts to be had:

> Pedon, son of Amphinnes, brought me from Egypt and dedicated me. And the Egyptian king Psammetikhos gave him as prizes [*aristêiia*] a golden bracelet *and a city* [*polis*], on account of his excellence [*aretê*].[67]

Among the evidence for similar contacts in the East the opening fragment of a poem by Alcaeus is the most suggestive. Composed around 600 BC, it celebrates the return of the poet's brother covered in glory after fighting as an 'ally' in the Babylonian army: "You have come from the ends of the earth, with the hilt of your sword made of

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[67] Pedon: *SEG* 37 (1987), no. 994 (I owe the reference to Harry Pleket); see Bettalli (1995) 69-70. For the later inscription and its interpretation, see Herman (1987) 101-2. Traditional account: Herodotus 2.152. The fact that the son of Periandros, tyrant of Corinth, was named after Psamtik (Aristotle, *Politics* 1315b), suggests the existence of *xenía* between tyrant and pharaoh, too.

ivory set in gold." The reference to Alcaeus' brother as an 'ally' and his high status as a leading member of one of the most powerful families in Mytilene suggest that he would not have been a rank-and-file mercenary, but more probably a *xeinos* of the king or one of the other commanders; the emphatic description of his impressive sword suggests that this may have been one of the gifts presented to him.[68]

In such relations an element of exploitation seems to remain acceptable to the Greeks. The tale of Syloson's visit to Egypt tells how he presented his red cloak as a gift to Dareios, one of the Persian king's bodyguards. When Dareios himself became king of Persia not many years later, Syloson immediately made the most of this amazing stroke of luck by reminding the new king of the favour he had done him and claiming as his reward nothing less than his installation as ruler of his native Samos.[69] Equally remarkable is the anecdote about Themistokles managing to ingratiate himself with the king of Persia within days of destroying the Persian fleet, by sending a secret message in which he *pretended* to have done the king a favour by preventing the Greek fleet from giving pursuit. He did this, we are told, to "build up a store of credit with the Persian"; his ultimate reward was a position of high honour at the Persian court, and the revenue of several cities.[70] The sources indicate no disapproval of such manipulation and cunning, just as in the story of Alcmeon we find nothing but admiration for his ingenuity in carrying off more gold than the friendly king had intended.

These tales commending *ad hoc* exploitation of unique opportunities surely reflect a more general phenomenon: the pervasive exploitation of opportunities inherent in the meeting of two different codes of reciprocity. In most parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, competitive generosity played a much greater role than in Greece. Kings, princes, and local rulers in Egypt, Cyprus, the Near East, Persia, Thrace, and Macedonia were expected to be liberal with gifts of valuables and estates to their subjects. These gifts were not supposed to be reciprocated in kind, but ensured the loyalty and subordination of the recipients. Greeks abroad would thus find

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[68] Alcaeus F 350 West; for this passage and other early evidence, see Bettalli (1995) 43-52.

[69] Herodotus 3.139-40.

[70] Herodotus 8.109-10; Thucydides 1.137-8; Plutarch *Themistocles* 27-9.

themselves establishing relations of *xenía* with very rich men who would feel obliged to demonstrate their wealth and power by rewarding even small favours with lavish gifts. No doubt the Greeks were aware that such gifts were meant to place them under an indefinite obligation, and those who were given estates or the revenue from cities in the territories ruled by their *xenoi* would have had little choice but to acknowledge their subordinate status. Those who were given movable wealth to take home to Greece, on the other hand, could afford to ignore the ethos of competitive generosity and see such gifts from a perspective of competitive greed, as Alcmeon and his family did. For them, gifts meant not permanent indebtedness but legitimate profit made from the extravagant generosity of foreign friends.

6. *Conclusion: the value of comparisons*

Comparative research has had a greater impact on the study of exchange than on any other topic in ancient history, and its influence has proved highly stimulating. Yet it has not been without its problems. Classicists and historians have usually, perhaps inevitably, depended on theoretical syntheses such as Marcel Mauss's *The Gift*, or Marshall Sahlins's *Stone Age Economics*. These are brilliant works, but it is in their nature that they should abstract and generalize from a wide range of data, and thereby simplify the complexity and variety of customs and values encountered in ethnographic studies. Further simplification, one suspects, tends to occur as the ideas of social scientists are transferred into another discipline. There is therefore a distinct danger of approaching exchange in ancient society with an unduly clear-cut notion of what is, and what is not, acceptable to a supposed code of reciprocity, and consequently struggling to make the evidence fit the model. Comparative research in this field will be most fruitful if it begins at the simplest level of comparison—between a single type of reciprocity described in the ancient sources and a single type of reciprocity attested in the ethnographic record.

Drawing parallels between *xenía* and *kula* has, I believe, proved rewarding. It has shown that poetic and anecdotal evidence which at first sight seems confused, inconsistent, and unrealistic does in fact add up to a set of attitudes and customs no more or less incoherent than those found in at least one other culture. It has drawn attention to

certain aspects of the relationship, the significance of which is not immediately obvious from the ancient evidence alone, notably the mythology and ideology of charm and physical beauty as key factors in gift-exchange, and the more covert but structural roles of entrepreneurial initiative and manipulation of the rules.

Finally, it has revealed differences as illuminating as any similarity. The contrast in gift-giving etiquette suggests that the rivalry of competitive generosity was restrained in early Greece in favour of an emphasis on harmonious relations between guest-friends. This is matched by the way in which such friends, unlike *kula* partners, exchanged a range of favours as well gifts. It is the extent of interdependence between *xenoi* pointed up by the comparison with their Melanesian counterparts which provides the key to understanding the variations within, and the historical development of, relations of *xenía*: the pursuit of profit within reciprocity was feasible and acceptable where and when mutual dependence between guest-friends was limited, but where mutual dependence was strong, as it grew to be between most Greek *xenoi*, greed had to give way to generosity.

Acknowledgement

Deborah Lyons' comments have helped improve this paper; its remaining failings are my own.

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